

IN THESE TIMES



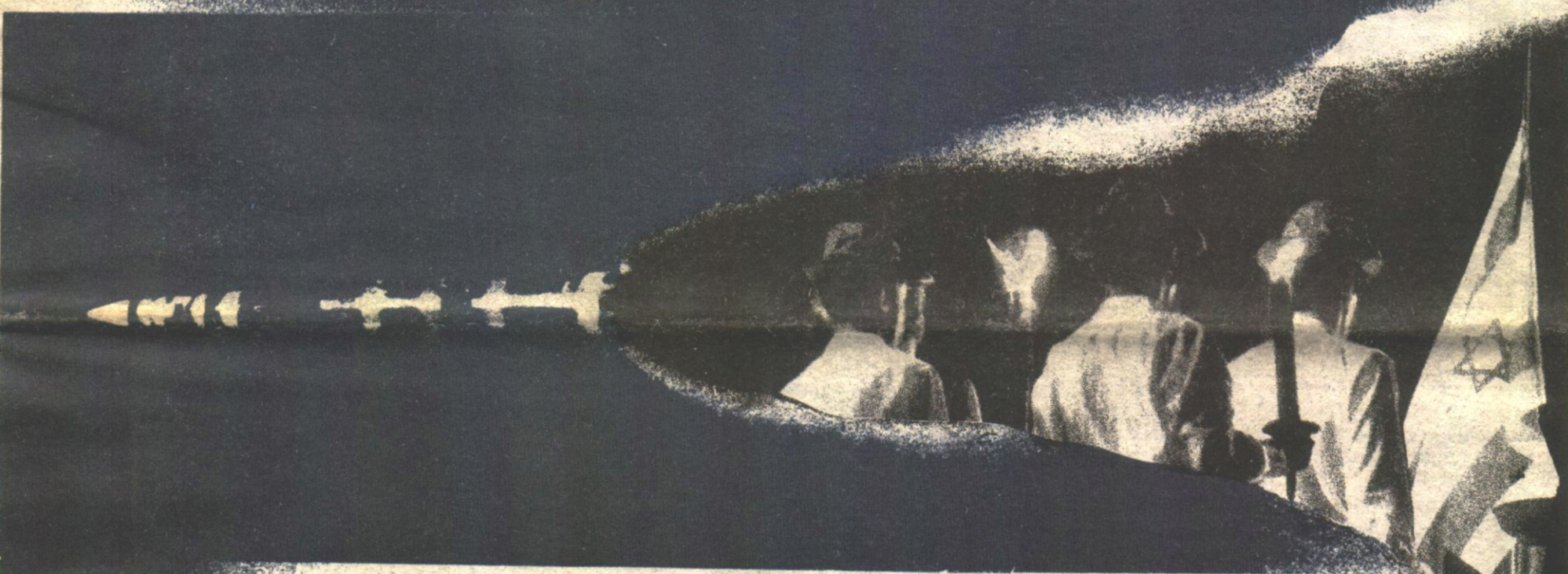
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Begin's Missile Crisis

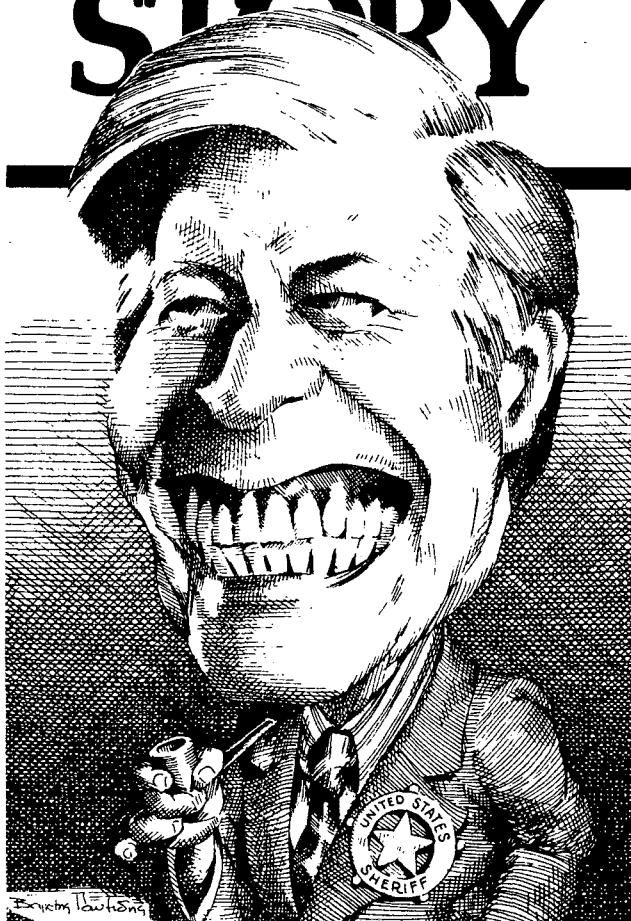


Israelis react with skepticism
to pre-election
war mongering

Growing Pains In DSOC

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THE INSIDE STORY



Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is under fire in his own Social Democratic Party for endorsing the Reagan proposals.

NATO allies have their own opinions

By John Judis

The Reagan administration is deeply concerned about what National Security Advisor Richard Allen described recently as "outright pacifist sentiments" now prevalent in Western Europe. Manifested by the opposition to the pledge by NATO nations to increase defense spending 3 percent annually and to station 572 intermediate-range American missiles on European soil, the new pacifism threatens to subvert the administration's military and diplomatic ambitions.

During the last 18 months, opposition to the defense spending and theater nuclear force (TNF) proposals—both of which were introduced in NATO by the U.S.—has been most marked in the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark. American defense analysts now even refer to Europe's disenchantment as "Denmarkization." But in the last six months, there are clear signs that Denmarkization has spread to the bulwarks of NATO, West Germany and Great Britain.

• In West Germany, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who has supported TNF and the 3 percent increase, has found himself embattled within his own Social Democratic Party. On the eve of his May 21 visit to the U.S., he even threatened to resign if his party members did not back him on these points. Schmidt's political problems were underscored by the results of the May 10 West Berlin elections, which saw an anti-militarist "Alternative List" take 7.2 percent of the vote and deprive the Social Democrats and Free Democrats of their majority.

• In Great Britain, the ascendancy of anti-militarist Michael Foot to the Labour Party leadership already had alarmed the Reagan administration. Then, last month, opposition to NATO's priorities surfaced within the Conservative Party. In response to continuing inflation, Margaret Thatcher's Defense Secretary John Nott has drawn up a plan for \$2 billion in defense cuts over the next 10 years.

But even more astonishing and disconcerting to the Reagan administration were the results of polls undertaken in Western Europe by the United States International Communications Agency (USICA), formerly the U.S. Information Agency. The USICA polls, taken by Gallup Institute, demonstrate that public opposition to the Americans' NATO proposals is widespread and growing.

According to the most recent polls, two-thirds of West Germans and half of the British and Dutch reject

stationing missiles on European soil. Forty percent of Germans rejected stationing them under any conditions. An additional third would support them only so long as they thought East-West arms control negotiations would succeed.

The proposal for deploying the neutron bomb in Europe, which has been revived by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, also meets with steadfast opposition. Its deployment is opposed by 58 percent in the Netherlands (with only 17 percent favoring it), by 53 (vs. 15) percent in Norway, 36 (vs. 28) percent in Britain and 44 (vs. 27) percent in West Germany.

Among the six NATO countries, only the West Germans and British support *existing* levels of defense spending. In France, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, a third or more support cutting defense spending, while only 10 percent favor the NATO increases.

In all these countries, the support for the NATO increase and for TNF has sharply declined over the last year. Support for a defense increase among the British dropped from 50 percent in March 1980 to 30 percent this spring. Support for an increase among West Germans dropped from 41 percent in May 1980 to 20 percent last October.

The drop in support partly reflects growing concern about inflation. One survey showed that 47 percent of West Germans, 67 percent of the British and 70 percent of the Italians would support cutting defense spending to fight inflation. As inflation has persisted and increased this year, support for defense cuts has risen.

The new neutralism.

A majority of Europeans supported SALT II and want new arms control negotiations to commence immediately. When asked to compare the priorities of arms control vs. strengthening NATO, 50 to 18 percent in France, 44 to 21 percent in the Netherlands, 40 to 31 percent in Great Britain, and 35 to 21 percent in West Germany thought arms control more important.

Detente is a good word, not a bad word, in Western Europe. Eighty percent of West Germans thought detente "appropriate" to safeguarding peace and freedom. Sixty-seven percent of West Germans and 52 percent of the French favor a "conciliatory approach" to the Soviet Union. Sixty-five percent of West Germans and 54 percent of the French (as opposed to 34 percent of Americans) think the West has benefited from detente as much as the Soviet Union has.

The most dramatic demonstration of Western European support for arms control came when the USICA asked whether arms control talks should be halted in the event of a Soviet invasion of Poland; only one in 10 thought they should.

There is also considerable and growing support in Western Europe for diplomatic independence from the U.S. An independent Common Market foreign policy is favored by a third of Germans, and by pluralities in France, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands. In a March 1980 poll, before the drop in support for the new NATO commitments, 60 percent of the French, 55 percent of the British and 37 percent of West Germans wanted their countries to stay out of disputes between the U.S. and the Soviet Union rather than increasing their backing for the U.S. Forty percent of the French, 20 percent of the British and 34 percent of West Germans wanted their countries to become neutral.

One might assume that growing European support for neutrality reflects a favorable opinion of the Soviet Union, but the contrary appears to be the case. From 1972 to October 1980, there has been a decline in favorable opinion of Soviet "socialism." In 1972, 28 percent had a positive and only 43 percent had a negative view of

Soviet socialism; eight years later, only 14 percent had a positive view, and 59 percent had a negative view.

European support for neutrality seems more based on two related factors: first, growing fear of the Soviet Union and recognition that the East is now militarily equal to, if not stronger than, the West; and second, fear that the U.S. policies under Reagan increase the chances of war. Sixty-three percent of West Germans (vs. 35 percent in 1979) believe that West Germany is threatened by the Soviet Union. In Britain, the percentages believing Britain threatened jumped from 77 to 85 percent.

Since 1972, the proportion of West Europeans that see the U.S. as "the most powerful country in the world" has declined 20 percent in France, Britain and West Germany. A plurality in West Germany and France think the U.S. and the Soviet Union are militarily equal, and more think the USSR is militarily superior than think the U.S. is.

There is very little support, however, for Reagan's goal of regaining military superiority over the Soviet Union. In West Germany, 75 percent in a recent poll supported equality between the two superpowers, while only 16 percent supported the goal of American superiority. Two-thirds believed that Reagan would follow a "harder line" against the Soviet Union than his predecessor did, and 60 percent wanted Bonn to "keep its distance" from such a policy. In Britain, 48 percent think Reagan's policies will harm Soviet-American relations, while 22 percent think they will improve them.

Reagan's immediate problems in Europe are based on his rejection of SALT II. The proposal to introduce missiles into Europe was originally predicated upon the adoption of SALT II, which was to lead directly to SALT III talks on the arms balance in the European theater. In this context, the TNF was taken as a Kissingerian "bargaining chip" rather than as an escalation of the arms race.

But Western Europeans now see both TNF and the 3 percent spending increase as dangerous escalations that bring Europe closer to war. As they told Defense Secretary Weinberger at last month's NATO meeting, they need a commitment on the part of the U.S. to begin immediately arms talks with the Soviet Union. Weinberger gave them a lukewarm one, which will not be enough to stem the growing disenchantment with American military strategy.

But even if Reagan should repudiate his own political base and plunge earnestly into arms control negotiations, it is unlikely that he can prevent the erosion of the Western alliance. The erosion has not been based upon the policies of particular American administrations, but upon the growing economic equality between the U.S. and Western Europe and the growing military equality between the U.S. and the USSR.

The NATO defections are not isolated developments, but part and parcel of the breakdown of the Bretton Woods monetary system, the creation of the European Monetary System, independent European initiatives in the Mideast and Central America, and the unwillingness of Western Europe to join a united front with the U.S. after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In the next decade, Western Europe's growing independence, combined with the erosion of Soviet control in Eastern Europe, will profoundly alter world politics. ■

Relax, it's summer!

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IN THESE TIMES

Growing up is often hard to do



The British Labour Party requested that Tony Benn address the DSOC convention, a reflection of its keen interest in the fortunes of American socialism.

By James Weinstein

PHILADELPHIA

GROWTH — TEMPERED BY awareness of continuing marginality, and of how much more growth is necessary — and optimism — based on confidence that the Reagan administration will fail, but qualified by realization that the left has yet to create a viable alternative to Reaganism—characterized the fifth national convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) in Philadelphia May 22 to 25.

The potential importance of DSOC, and of a new American left in the '80s, was expressed in several ways during the four-day convention—most dramatically by Tony Benn, leader of the British Labour Party and minister of energy in the last Labour government. Speaking Friday evening to more than 500 people in a packed meeting in a Methodist church near the convention site, Benn explained that after the recent socialist victory in France "we shall see before too long a socialist government elected in Britain." When that happens, he said, the attitude of the American government will be of critical importance; it is unclear whether the United States will accept the democratic verdict of the British people or seek to obstruct the new government and perhaps even to destabilize it. This "Allende question," Benn explained, arises at every meeting he addresses in Britain, and there is an awareness that "a strong and principled American labor and socialist movement could help to protect a new Labour government."

"Democratic socialists in Europe and

America, and worldwide, must learn to work together, because we need each other," he added. And in that spirit he welcomed "the rebirth of democratic socialism in America" and offered to help in any way possible. That Benn and his party take seriously the potential of DSOC and of a new socialist left in the U.S. was clear in his speech. But it was just as forcefully reflected in the fact that Benn was present at the initiative of the Labour Party, which requested that DSOC invite him to attend and address the convention.

DSOC has come a long way since 1973, when it was founded by 200 people after a three-way split of the remnants of the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas. At that time Michael Harrington, the organization's elected chair, expressed his determination that no one should be excluded from DSOC on the basis of past politics or former affiliations. But old hostilities and suspicions die slowly, especially in the socialist left where people have often had little else to keep them going. DSOC, however, has done amazingly well in overcoming these debilitating habits and attitudes.

The appearance of David Livingston, president of District 65 of New York—now affiliated with the United Auto Workers, but in the '40s and early '50s an independent union closely identified with the Communist Party—symbolized one aspect of DSOC's success. As Livingston said, the greatest accomplishment of the organization thus far has been its ability to create a consensus of socialist people and to escape some of the pitfalls that destroyed its predecessors. One of several unionists, academics and political office-holders who have joined DSOC since the November elections, Livingston announ-

ced that he had joined only after consultation with other officers and many members of his union. "I came," he said, "because the labor movement needs you," just as DSOC needs labor in order "to create a socialist movement."

True to the critical spirit of the convention, and reflecting the tradition of his union, Livingston commented on the small number of blacks and Hispanics present. "When we become part of DSOC," he said, "we will do it in our style" and "add some color to the organization." In addition, in commenting on the tasks that face labor, Livingston pointed out that unlike 50 years ago, when the early CIO unions were germinating in the auto factories and steel mills, "the bulk of the people who must now be brought into the labor movement are women." And on the latter point, at least, the convention reflected Livingston's concern by making permanent the provision that half the members of the national executive committee and three of the six vice-chairs be women. But the one black member of the national executive committee, Greg Akili of San Diego, was not re-elected.

The NAM merger.

In addition to DSOC's growth by recruitment—in the two years since the last convention, membership has grown from 3,000 to 5,000—this convention took a decisive step toward DSOC's first merger with another socialist organization—the New American Movement.

NAM, organized in late 1971 mostly by new leftists from the '60s anti-war movement, has had few members and no leaders with roots in the socialist tradition out of which DSOC came. In fact, many older former Communists joined NAM in the mid-'70s. About one-fifth the size of DSOC, NAM has had almost no presence as a national organization, but has had several active local organizations and generally a more activist core of members than DSOC. But until recently NAM members have been indifferent, when not hostile, to participation in electoral activities and tended to be suspicious of anyone in union office. In the last few years this has changed and, as Harrington commented at the convention, the areas of agreement between NAM and DSOC are many times greater than the differences.

Merger negotiations started two years ago and the negotiating committees had reached the stage of draft agreement on a political basis of unification prior to the convention. In these negotiations there were three particularly sensitive areas: Israel and the Palestinians, whether or not the Communist nations are a part of the world socialist movement and DSOC's commitment to creating a socialist tendency within the Democratic Party.

The strongest opposition to the merger came from DSOC members in New York, Boston and Houston, who formed a Committee Against the NAM Merger. The committee held three working sessions prior to the vote on merger at Sunday's plenary session. At the first of those sessions Alex Spinrad of New York said that for the last two years "this NAM question has been destructive of DSOC, has divided it internally and pointed it in a sectarian direction." Part of the problem, he said, lay in the negotiated document, which left unclear the degree of NAM's commitment to DSOC's principles of support for Israel, working as Democrats and its insistence that the Communist nations are not socialist. To remedy this, the Committee Against the Merger proposed a series of amendments to the document.

The amendments were a mixed bag. Some would probably have been acceptable to NAM members, others would have been objectionable not only to NAM people, but also to many DSOC members. But the main objection voiced was that if the document were to be amended by DSOC to satisfy its right wing, that

would invite amendments at NAM's convention at the end of July in order to mollify its left wing. Several delegates thought the amendments were offered not in the interest of clarity but as a delaying tactic and as a concession to important outsiders, who—so anti-merger delegates argued—would be watching closely to see if DSOC remained sufficiently opposed to the PLO and committed to the Democrats.

At each of the three committee sessions votes were taken on the amendments, which failed consistently by margins of roughly about three to one.

By the Sunday plenary it was clear that the merger would go through without amendments. Harrington spoke in favor of it, and Irving Howe spoke against it, but announced that the opponents would abstain in the vote. Howe spoke most passionately on the question of the Communist countries, on which he put an "urgent political moral stress," saying that those societies have "nothing in common with our concept of socialism" But he added that the final document was much improved and could be defended, though he still feared NAM's "verbal radicalism" and "leftist posturing."

When the vote was called, the amendments lost by 158 to three (with 31 abstentions) and the merger document was approved by 163 to 0 (with 26 abstentions).

The question of chairs.

The only other major matter of business was an amendment that denied automatic membership on the national executive committee to DSOC vice-chairs. This was designed both to strengthen the NEC as a political body and to reduce the power of the vice-chairs, who have served both as spokespeople for DSOC—William Winpisinger of the Machinists Union and

A number of trade unionists, office-holders and academics have joined DSOC since November.

Michael Rivas had been the most prominent vice-chairs—and as day-to-day organizational leaders—a role played by Debbie Meier in New York, Ruth Jordan in Washington, D.C., and Carl Shier in Chicago.

As Debbie Meier said in a statement opposing the change and declining to run for re-election, the vice-chair proposal was a mixture of principle and personality. In part, it was an attempt to clarify and increase the lines of political responsibility and authority in the organization. But it was also a revolt, joined by many DSOC members from new chapters around the country, against what was perceived as a clique of founding members, old friends and comrades, who had done much to create and build the organization, but were unable to loosen their grip on it.

These changes were painful, as growing pains often are, and no one seemed light-hearted about them. But they did have the desired effect of opening up the vice-chairs from an old guard around Harrington to a more representative group. In line with the change in number, and the sexual equality provision, San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt became the third male vice-chair (Winpisinger and Rivas remained in place) and Marjorie Phyfe of the Machinists Union, left theologian Rosemary Reuther and trade union organizer Trudy Robideau of San Diego were elected to the three women's slots.

INSHORT

GM's moving violations

Jeanie Wylie filed this report from Detroit, where General Motors' top brass faced off against two irate community groups at the corporation's annual stockholders' meeting late last month: "More than 150 city residents went to the meeting as stockholders of record and as proxies to let GM know that they opposed GM's plans for Detroit. Security was tight: purses and packages were searched by private police, while GM officials seated themselves behind a bullet-proof podium. At issue was GM's plan to reduce operations at two Cadillac plants on Detroit's southwest side and to construct a highly automated Cadillac plant in central Detroit. Community residents in both neighborhoods argue that the Latino, black and Polish southwest side community will die if GM withdraws jobs. They also oppose construction of the new plant, which would employ far fewer people and require the demolition of Poletown, a black and Polish neighborhood, to make way for a plant parking lot (*In These Times*, Feb. 4).

"Poletown residents, who lost title to their land when the city used its power of eminent domain to turn the area over to GM, announced a nationwide boycott of GM products just before the doors to the plush Fisher Theater were opened to the corporation's stockholders. Members of the Michigan Avenue Community Organization (MACO), which had bought \$10,000 of GM stock, gave every stockholder a slick copy of its 'annual report' (a parody of GM's own 1981 report), warning that Depression-era conditions will return to Detroit if the southwest side loses the 15,000 jobs GM provides. During the meeting, 10 Poletown supporters told the well-dressed audience that the corporation's actions are immoral and a subversion of democratic processes. A MACO representative demanded that GM reinvest in the southwest side, provide incentives for suppliers to move to Detroit and meet with MACO to discuss the city's future. But when other members of the community group were cleverly denied access to microphones, 125 MACO members stormed out of the meeting, littering the air with shreds of GM propaganda. They admitted later that they had been 'outmaneuvered' by the company."

Taps rapped

In our Jan. 21 issue, Robert Howard described the phone company practice of secretly monitoring operators "to evaluate courtesy and accuracy," after which the supervisor records any "irregularities" or "faults." Now, after extensive lobbying and campaigning by 14 of its locals, the Communications Workers of America (CWA) has pushed through legislation curbing the practice in West Virginia. The first state law of its kind, according to the *CWA News*, it also applies to firms that eavesdrop on calls to their customer-relations departments. Telephone users in West Virginia must be warned by a beep tone or recorded message whenever a conversation is intercepted, and companies that bug their employees must mention this practice in their telephone directory listings.

Ad money to burn

A study released recently by the American Public Health Association warns that "women's magazines" may be hazardous to your awareness of the health problems posed by smoking. After a 12-year survey of ads and articles in 12 magazines ranging from *Ms.* to *Mademoiselle*, Josh Martin reports, the study's authors concluded that the tobacco companies and those who determine editorial policy have fostered a "conspiracy of silence" on the cancer connection. Unsurprisingly, a direct link was found between the extent of cancer coverage and a magazine's relative dependence on cigarette advertising. Most of the surveyed publications have steered clear of the issue as the number of women who smoke and the corresponding cancer statistics have continued to rise.

More bad news

A new study of the atomic bomb victims of World War II may send widespread aftershocks through the nuclear power industry. According to the Zodiac News Service, the study, conducted by two scientists at the Lawrence Livermore lab in California, tentatively indicates that gamma radiation—the type of radiation given off by nuclear power plant wastes—is four times more likely to induce cancer than was previously believed, and that the chances of dying from that cancer are at least twice as great as was thought. In reporting the study's findings, *Science* magazine says the new figures "will worry the advocates of nuclear power," and may require the government to make drastic reductions in the current ceilings on allowable radiation exposure.

—Josh Kornbluth



Posters like this one from India, trumpeting the benefits of infant formula, would be banned under the WHO code.

Infant formula critics hit U.S. stance against code

WASHINGTON—Protests from across the political spectrum have been leveled at the Reagan administration's "no" vote in the World Health Assembly against the "Code for the Marketing of Breast Milk Substitutes." The code, developed under the auspices of the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF, recommends policies to member governments that would restrict the sales promotion of infant formula. Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) perhaps best summarized the views of many by charging that the administration "runs the risk of sending a message that we are indifferent to the value and sanctity of human life." Some 118 member nations voted for the code; the U.S. alone voted no.

As many of 10 million infants suffer from severe malnutrition and diarrheal disease because their mothers have been induced to abandon breast feeding for "modern" artificial formula. In third world countries where illiteracy rates are high and clean water scarce, the formula is often over-diluted with contaminated water. A recent study by the government of Brazil found that while 95 percent of the country's health centers distributed free samples of the formula, only 6 percent of women visiting maternity clinics received information about breast feeding.

The code recommends curbs on the indiscriminate distribution of free samples, on direct advertising to consumers, and on formula company personnel working inside the health system. It also suggests that promotion of formula use be restricted to trained medical personnel.

The Reagan administration tried to justify its opposition to the code on three grounds:

•It claimed, first, that there was insufficient evidence of a problem with infant formula, even though

in voting against the code it disregarded the recommendations of two senior officials at the U.S. Agency for International Development, who then resigned in protest. One of them, Dr. Stephen Joseph, said, "...The best available estimates ascribe up to one million infant deaths to diarrhea and under-nutrition associated with artificial formula feeding."

•The administration also argued that the code's restrictions on marketing practices would violate "commercial free speech," though, as the *Washington Post* pointed out, "...such infringement...for the sake of the public interest is an accepted practice all over the world, including this country."

•Similarly, an administration claim that the code would violate U.S. antitrust laws was disputed by a December 1980 Justice Department memo to WHO on the antitrust issue. Opponents charged that such objections were a "smoke-screen" for administration concern that the infant formula code will set a precedent for other international guidelines on pharmaceuticals and pesticides.

It remains to be seen how thoroughly the WHO recommendations will be implemented by member governments that don't normally challenge the multinational corporations—or whether the companies themselves will voluntarily comply with the code.

Corporate estimates of growth in the infant formula sales are about 20 percent a year in the U.S. and 12 percent abroad. The code is aimed only at restricting sales promotion of the formula—not its availability—and David Cox, president of the Chicago-based Ross Laboratories, insists that it "...isn't going to change the market's growth one iota."

—Fred Clarkson

Is homework coming back?

NEW YORK—Scenes we thought were as faded as Lewis Hines' photographs of tenement sweatshops may soon be back in sharp focus if Secretary of Labor Raymond J. Donovan has his way. Industrial homework—the manufacture in the home of apparel, jewelry and small trinkets—was virtually outlawed under the Fair Labor Standards Act because it so easily led to subminimum wages, unpaid overtime, child labor and work hazards in the home. In April, Donovan proposed that the 40-year ban on such work be lifted, to "open up job opportunities in many cottage industries."

The backdrop for the announcement was a set of recent Labor Department hearings prompted by Vermont ski-cap manufacturers who employ homeworkers (*In These Times*, March 11). The purpose was to examine whether "changes in economic conditions...since homework regulations were promulgated" (in the words of the Labor Department) warranted a rural exemption for the knitting industry in Vermont. Donovan skipped over the fine print that narrowly defined the hearings' intent and concluded that every state and industry should be so lucky.

The secretary appears to have an obsession with the sweatshop. He swooped into Manhattan's Chinatown recently to "raid" a garment factory or two, afterward issuing a steamy press release that read like the inner pages of an old dime novel. But it's not clear what he's really after.

Some industry observers wonder if his alleged links to the Mafia are at work. Much of the underground apparel industry is mob-related, with trucking the nerve center of the operation. If the secretary's impulse is more ideological, it is possible that he feels loyalty to the recently established pro-business conservative legal foundations such as the Capital Legal Foundation, which helped argue the pro-homework case for the Vermont entrepreneurs. (Donovan is said to have donated \$100,000 to a similar organization, the Washington Legal Foundation.)

Union leaders were startled by the secretary's unilateral action. AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland complained that labor was not consulted. "We were not given the opportunity to explain our side of the case," he said in a press conference after the announcement. Another union official said, "No rational person could imagine that those hearings justified this conclusion."

But so far the forces opposing the change have not generated much offense. The AFL-CIO is considering a large-scale demonstration in Washington this fall to protest the use of the Labor Department as an "instrument of attack on our basic working standards." And the House Labor Standards subcommittee, chaired by Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), has begun hearings to give Donovan's foes on the homework issue a forum. These include the Federation of Apparel Manufacturers, whose arguments that homework will spell "disaster" for legitimate industry may have more influence with Donovan than any case the unions may plead.

—Hardy Green and Elizabeth Weiner

IN THE NATION

EDUCATION



Its long record of resisting desegregation has left the Boston school department with little public support.

Boston's schools take the rap

By Richard Stutman

BOSTON

BOSTON SCHOOLS LURCHED toward the end of the term in a day-to-day battle for survival. After 15 years of wasting its resources on efforts to obstruct the desegregation of students and staff, the Boston system this year found itself, without adequate funding and without much support, only a short step away from bankruptcy.

Boston Mayor Kevin White put the school department in a financial hole in September when he set its budget at \$195 million—\$18 million less than was spent the year before and \$45 million less than what many felt was needed this year. In fact, the mayor's own outside audit warned that the school department would exhaust a \$195 million budget by mid-March. The mayor argued that his actions were fiscally responsible and cited a declining enrollment. Others saw it differently.

For years the mayor has blamed the school department—the only city department not under his direct control—for his own fiscal problems. He's been able skillfully to transfer his own budget deficits onto the hapless schools, and the school department, mismanaged as it is, has been unable to challenge him.

This year the mayor has had to work this play a little harder than usual. First, he had to find \$50 million to pay newly won property tax debates to the city's larger commercial owners. Second, in November Massachusetts voters passed Proposition 1 1/2, a tax-cutting measure more radical than Rockefeller's Proposition 13, which will force the mayor to replace another \$150 million in lost revenues.

Since these twin problems could easily bankrupt the city, the mayor needed a scapegoat, and the school department conveniently filled the bill. White deliberately underfunded the schools so that when the department came clamoring for a bail-out, he could blame it for creating the city's "fiscal crisis."

The school department took a wait-and-see attitude. Lacking both the statutory powers to insure adequate funding and the public support to demand it, the department had few options. There was no hope, for example, that the overwhelmingly white tax-paying public wouldn't bail out a predominantly black

and Hispanic school system. In fact, the mayor's own poll showed that the public ranked the school department second to last on a list of 18 city services they felt were important.

Even the school-using public didn't show much sympathy. With its abysmal record on desegregation the school department could hardly expect—or deserve—much support from Boston's minority communities, which now account for two-thirds of the student population.

No one was more aware of this lack of public credibility than the mayor when he set up the schools to run out of money in mid-year.

In March, one week before school funds were to run out, the Massachusetts Board of Education got an injunction to keep the schools open—but without requiring a new infusion of funds. The state legislature then found \$10 million to keep the schools open for two weeks.

As succeeding deals were cut to allow the schools to complete the term, a curious pattern emerged: each time a shut-down threatens, the mayor "finds" some money. And each time he gives a little, he gets a lot in return.

First the department voted to close 27 schools. Then it consolidated hundreds of classes mid-year, disrupting the education of thousands of students. In April, the department stopped paying vendors and cut back on all but emergency repairs. Last month the department "noticed" 2,300 tenured teachers, 60 percent of the teaching staff, that they faced a June layoff. And as if that weren't enough, in May the school department eliminated the kindergarten I program. Little wonder many have accused the school department of dismantling the school system, rather than fighting to save it.

The main advocacy groups for the school system, the unions and the parent organizations, have been ineffective. The unions, especially the teachers union, have spent their energies in court and have done little to mobilize their memberships. The parent organizations have sponsored a few rallies, but nothing more. Many feel that the absence of a workable alliance between teacher and parent groups has contributed to the schools' problems.

In the past the unions and the parents have worked successfully on a few "neutral" issues, such as school closings, class size, and mid-year consolidations. But on other, more sensitive issues, distrust remains.

Many black and Hispanic parents resent the teachers union's initial resistance to staff desegregation and, more recently, its position that layoffs should be done on a strict seniority basis. That could wipe out most of the system's black and Hispanic teachers in the first round of notices, unless some accommodation is made to Affirmative Action. Boston's black teachers have just gone to federal court to insure that layoffs not interfere with previous affirmative action gains.

Richard Stutman, a middle school teacher in the Boston system, is active in the Boston Teachers Union.

IMMIGRATION

Not everyone seeking refuge is a refugee

By David Helvarg

SAN DIEGO

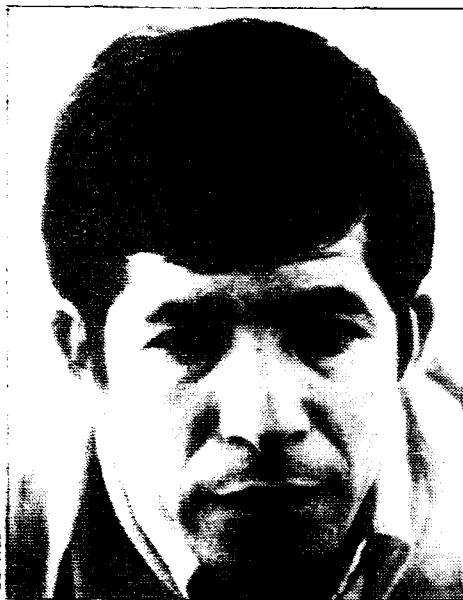
AN IMMIGRATION JUDGE IN San Diego has delayed ruling on a deportation case that could determine whether thousands of Salvadoran refugees fleeing the violence in their country might be granted political asylum in the United States.

In a five-minute hearing on May 7, Immigration Judge Robert J. Barrett postponed indefinitely a decision on the deportation of Tulio Mendoza, an elementary school principal from Ahuachapan, El Salvador, who was caught illegally entering the U.S. in January. Documentation submitted by San Diego ACLU lawyer George Haverstick on Mendoza's behalf included numerous articles and reports on the ongoing oppression in El Salvador and a 2,500-signature petition asking that Mendoza be granted asylum.

Mendoza's legal situation is similar to that of the Haitians who recently have sought refuge in the U.S. Since the U.S. government maintains good relations with the governments of El Salvador and Haiti, the State Department has refused to acknowledge that refugees from those countries are seeking asylum. Instead, the Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) has been instructed to regard them as fleeing economic hard times. Victims of hunger are not considered political refugees and so are not eligible for asylum.

The 38-year-old Mendoza was approached on Christmas Eve by a young

gunman—a member of a right-wing death squad in his hometown of Ahuachapan in western El Salvador—with a warning that his name and those of two other teachers had been added to a list of "subversives" to be executed. Mendoza



Tulio Mendoza was told he had been added to the local hit list in El Salvador.

did not take the warning lightly. As a member of ANDES, the National Teachers Union, he knew he was vulnerable. "Over 200 teachers and school administrators had been killed in the last two years," he explained. "Four teachers had recently been killed in my town. They were kidnapped and their bodies later found on the streets. A couple of them showed signs that they had been tortured. The government and the right accuse teachers, trade unionists and the Catholic

Church of spreading subversion, of poisoning the minds of the young. I was one of six members of the regional committee of ANDES. Four of our committee had already been killed by the *Esquadron de Muerte* [one of the death squads]. Naturally we took the warning seriously."

Mendoza immediately fled northward with his wife and four children. They rode buses through Guatemala and Mexico before running out of money in Guadalajara. Mendoza continued on his own, hoping to find a job in the U.S. and then send for his family. But on Jan. 5 he was captured by the Border Patrol in San Ysidro, Calif., and sent to an INS detention facility in El Centro. There he was held with several hundred other Salvadorans, part of an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 who have fled here since the fighting began.

"People were afraid that if we were sent back we would be tortured and killed by the government. Our barracks felt like death row," he said. "My friend who fled with me and was the only other surviving member of our ANDES committee has already been deported back to El Salvador. I worry if he's still alive."

Tulio was elected by the other detainees to represent their cause to the public after the Salvadoran Refugee Defense Committee of San Diego offered to post bail for one person. For the last month Tulio has been on a speaking tour of the U.S. talking about his case and those of the other Salvadoran refugees.

"Before this trip I thought the American people were our enemy because the U.S. was providing all this military aid

Continued on page 10

HOUSING

New home mortgage heist

By Thomas Brom

SAN FRANCISCO

MENTION HOME MORTGAGES to most people and their eyes glaze over. What's important is covering the rent check each month, or somehow scraping together enough money to make the down payment on a modest house. Mortgage finance is better left to the housing bureaucrat and the banker, who ultimately decides whether or not you qualify for the loan.

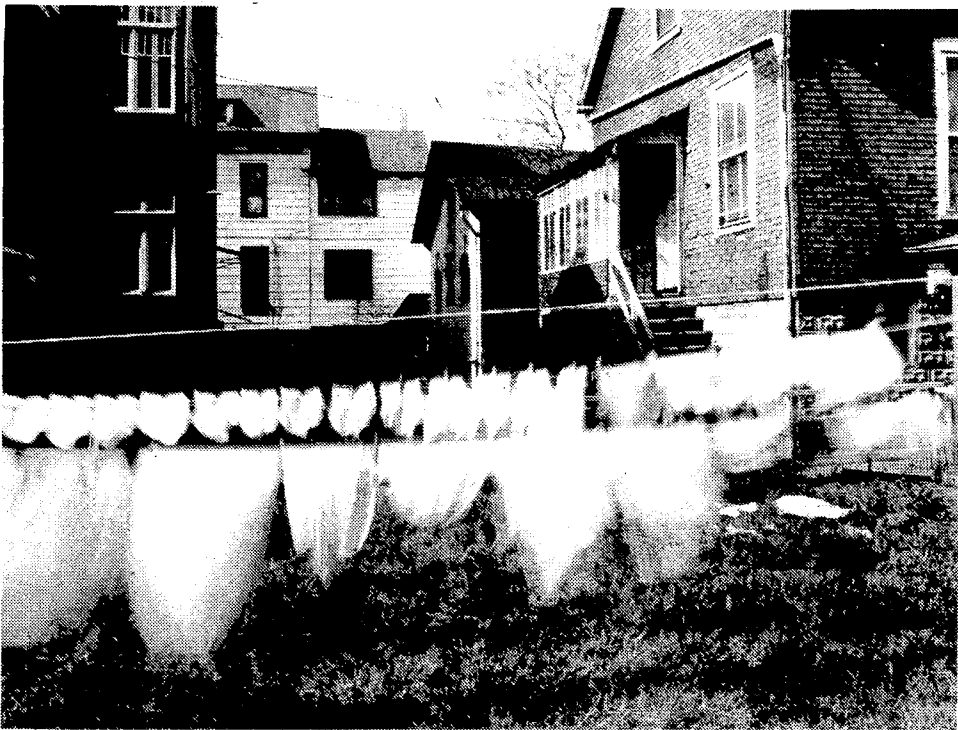
No more. A financial coup took place in Washington recently that will affect every person in the country who still aspires to own a house.

The agent of that coup is the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which permitted certain home loan institutions to offer "adjustable rate mortgages" with virtually no limit on interest payments.

Pressure for the bank's action came from the nation's savings and loan associations, which have been squeezed by the high cost of money and the deregulation of competing commercial banks. "The Bank Board was conducting a rescue mission," says Randall Pozdena, an economist for the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco.

But the invisible hand of conservative Reagan administration advisors was also at work, making the first move in a Republican "reindustrialization" scheme that boggles the mind.

"I think a lot of it was ideological," says Robert Gnaizda, a lawyer for Public Advocates in San Francisco. "The new mortgages are being justified by supply-siders who think they can shift housing equity to industrial capital without anyone noticing."



The floating-rate loans, which shift inflation risks from lender to borrower and siphon off owners' equity, will penalize neighborhoods where home values do not rise rapidly.

"Conservative advisors like Anthony Downs of the Brookings Institution and the National Bureau of Economic Research have definitely pushed the capital shift argument," admits Pozdena.

Mortgage roulette.

Ronald Reagan is helping industry "get the gold out" of single-family houses. Only he's not making household loans. His administration will be robbing millions of nest eggs from the home-buying public of the 1980s through mortgages that systematically siphon off the owner's equity.

The new "adjustable rate mortgages" (ARMs) were created April 30 by the

Federal Home Loan Bank Board when it permitted federally-chartered savings and loans to offer mortgages with payments that follow the fluctuations of the financial markets. Any of 15 different inflation indices may be chosen by the S&Ls for incorporation into the payment structure.

Instead of signing up for a fixed-rate mortgage over 30 years, home buyers will now be looking at a loan contract with blank spaces in all the important clauses. If the inflation index chosen by the S&L should rise, mortgage costs could increase by:

- increasing the monthly payments,
- increasing the length of the loan,
- increasing the principal—the original amount borrowed—while the monthly payments remain fixed. Every five years, the S&L would adjust the terms of the agreement so that principal and interest would be paid in the agreed amount of time.

The floating-rate mortgages are said to be "capped" because there are legal limits on the amount monthly payments may be raised, ranging from 25 percent once every five years to 7.5 percent once each year in proposed California mortgages.

That is small comfort to prospective home owners. They will be borrowing many thousands of dollars without knowing what their rate of interest, monthly payments and loan terms will be, or even knowing whether or not the loan principal will increase over time.

So far fixed-rate mortgages are still available, but at a 2 percent interest premium. But the banking industry expects the new mortgages to become standard in coming years, with interest rates that change every three to six months.

Public interest lawyers recognized the danger of variable-rate mortgages when they were first introduced by the savings and loans in the mid-1970s. The mortgages had different names in different parts of the country, but all tended to shift the risk of inflation from the lender to the borrower.

Attorney Gnaizda represented the NAACP, the Urban League, Chinese for Affirmative Action and half a dozen other groups before banking committee hearings in Sacramento last year, and managed to force a compromise bill regulating "renegotiable rate" mortgages in the state.

The Nader organization and Consumer's Union performed similar service on a national level. But the Federal Home Loan Bank Board rules adopted last month effectively sweep away existing standards. State-chartered savings and loans in California are now applying for federal status just to gain access to the open-ended Bank Board regulations.

Ominous as these changes are for pot-

ential home buyers, the shift in home loan risk to consumers is only part of the story. More important are the "equity sharing" principles hidden in the home loans.

"During periods of inflation, a homeowner with a fixed-rate mortgage benefits enormously," Gnaizda explains. "Floating-rate loans, on the other hand, compensate the lender for inflation and assume wages and housing values will keep pace."

"But we know that wages often lag behind inflation, and houses in some neighborhoods appreciate very slowly. A homeowner with a floating-rate mortgage might have to sell the house to make the payments, or owe the bank more than he borrowed. The bank essentially becomes an equity partner at the time the loan is made—but without the knowledge of the home buyer."

This is the key to the invisible shift of capital from homeowners to the financial institutions. It's the new homeowners with the floating-rate mortgages who will be hurt when they sell, sharing their equity with the bank. Some lenders deplore the fact that existing mortgage holders won't share in this sacrifice, but the capital shift itself has long been a goal of corporate planners.

"Every time housing values rise, billions of dollars are added to America's individual wealth," *Forbes* magazine commented last year. "The problem—and the key to understanding how America can generate wealth that isn't capital—is that housing equity is an economically sterile investment for society. Four-bedroom, two-bath houses on half-acres are a pleasant part of the American lifestyle, but once built, they do nothing to keep U.S. industry competitive."

William Burke, vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, thinks the capital shift beginning with the Bank Board mortgage rules "is probably necessary to reindustrialize the U.S. and increase domestic productivity."

The new mortgages, Burke says, reverse a decades-long policy that served to subsidize homeowners through favorable federal tax treatment and fixed-rate home loans. "Homeowners are now sitting on \$1 trillion in home equity that could be used by industry," he says.

The trend away from home equity, Burke believes, has already begun. "In 1979, \$395 billion in total funds were raised in the U.S. capital markets. Of that, \$109 billion, or approximately 25 percent, went to home mortgages."

"In 1980, the U.S. raised \$363 billion in total funds, but only \$82 billion went into housing. Admittedly, 1980 was a bad year for the industry, but I believe it illustrates a trend."

"In the long run," Burke says, "housing might lose 5 to 10 percent of the total financing that it has become used to."

Gnaizda also sees long-term consequences in the floating-rate mortgages, but much less optimistically. "It's part of a design to shift capital in this country," he says. "I just don't accept the assumptions underlying that shift."

"First of all, I think home ownership is a good use of capital. It supports small business and helps create stable communities. Equally important, however, is what happens to that capital after it has been separated from homeowners."

"Right now banks are investing in Brazil—not the South Bronx. And as long as U.S. banks are overextended in the third world, they will continue to back up their loans with more capital. Reindustrialization in the U.S. is a phony argument because the money generated to finance it isn't staying home."

Gnaizda is one of only a handful of public critics attacking the new floating-rate mortgages. He thinks it might take years before enough opposition takes shape to change the loan regulations.

"People don't understand the implications," he says. "Young people and blue-collar workers are being completely shut out of home ownership, and neighborhoods will be red-lined again because the property won't appreciate fast enough to keep pace with the inflation-pegged home loans."

"We must understand this is an ideological attack, not neutral housing policy. It's supply-side economics in action."

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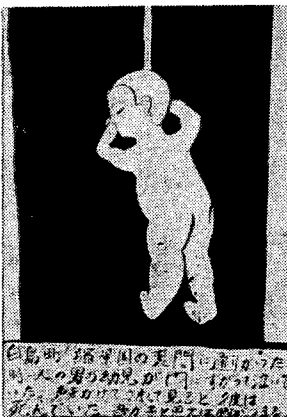
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PANTHEON

HEALTH CARE

Not all hospitals are created equal

This is the fourth article in a six-part series on health care in America funded by the In These Times Medical Investigative Fund. In the last article, Ellen Cantarow described the understaffing and lack of equipment that have seriously jeopardized patient care in the nation's public hospitals. In this article she examines the financial underpinnings of those conditions. In future articles Cantarow will report on the politics of cancer and a legislative agenda for health care in the '80s.

By Ellen Cantarow

THE REST OF THE STORY OF the crisis of public medicine in America is a story about sickness and money. Consider the following case: A man is found on the street somewhere on Chicago's South Side, in a coma, with bruises on his head. The police bring him to the emergency room at Cook County General Hospital, where Chicago's poor get treated. The doctors who examine him there decide he should have a CT-scan. Cook County doesn't have a CT-scanner, but Rush-Presbyterian St. Luke's Medical Center, a private hospital just down the street, does. So County calls an ambulance, and it lines up a doctor to go with the patient to Rush-Presbyterian, where the scan is done. The bill for the whole business is \$437—\$90 for the ambulance, \$22 for the doctor's time and \$325 for the scan itself. Multiply that by 1,555—the number of Cook County Hospital patients who had CT-scanning at Rush-Presbyterian from 1979 to 1980—and you come out with \$679,535.

This year Cook County will buy its own CT-scanner from General Electric Corporation for \$702,000. For what it has paid Rush Presbyterian for a single year of the service, it could have bought its own machine. Instead, it has more than paid for Rush-Presbyterian's, since that hospital undoubtedly paid less when it bought its scanner. According to one study of the machine, in 1978 you could get a cheap model for as little as \$200,000—which gives some idea of what's really behind the phrase, "inflated medical costs."

The patient I described above is fictional. But the figures come straight from the books at Cook County Hospital. Like any sort of consumerism, American medicine is based on keeping up with the Joneses. For the doctor in private life this may mean having a Mercedes in the garage. For a hospital it means having a hyperbaric chamber, a CT-scanner, the smartest spread of lab equipment, and the best staff to work with all the goods. It means staying on top, where "health care" is really a euphemism for capital accumulation.

According to Richard Brown, a faculty member at the School of Public Health at the University of California, Los Angeles, this begins to explain why public hospitals are in such trouble. "The problem for public hospitals," writes Brown in a study of 700 to 800 public hospitals across the country, "is that they have had to hire staff, obtain services and buy products at the rising prices generated by private-sector demand, despite the fact that their revenues from patient care have not grown as fast as the private sector's revenues."

The pressures on cost.

"Demand" in the medical-industrial complex works pretty much the way it does everywhere else. Companies with names like General Electric, Pfizer, Ohio-Nuclear, Siemens and Bristol Meyers hawk their wares to as many doctors and hospitals as they can. Hospitals in turn compete for the products so they can at-

tract the "best" doctors. The "best" doctors have been trained at medical schools that concentrate on the diseases high-tech medicine is designed to measure, photograph, irradiate, excise, stain, section and drug. In turn the doctors use all the equipment and supplies because they're there, and because there's money in using them. There's money in them because you and I pay for them through insurance programs, and the programs keep on paying out our money at ever-higher rates because General Electric and the rest keep churning out the products while yearly widening their profit margins.

Medical costs suddenly ballooned in 1965, and they've been doing so ever

Public hospitals are the safety valve that lets the privates balance their books.



Private institutions set a pace for new equipment and procedures that the debt-ridden publics find it more and more difficult to meet.

since. 1965 was the year Medicare and Medicaid started, promising medicine the same sort of guaranteed security only the defense industry enjoyed before. Between 1965 and 1970 hospitals and doctors raised their fees every year at more than twice the yearly rate of increase in all the years before that. Between 1965 and 1979, hospital costs alone nearly quintupled. Private hospitals have certainly had their troubles with inflation, but they've stayed on a relatively even keel by contrast with public hospitals, which are drowning in debt.

In part this is because private hospitals had more to start with. Before 1965 public hospitals depended exclusively on local taxes, while the private institutions had a rich number of coffers to draw from—Blue Cross, commercial insurance and the usual array of endowments, annual gifts and income from investments. After 1965 local money for the publics was supposed to be replaced by federal money—Medicaid for the poor, Medicare for the aged. But soon after the programs went into effect, it was discovered that far more money was being poured out than anyone had originally intended.

Early on in the Medicaid program \$5 billion went one year to 15 million people. Congress didn't clamp down on Medicare, for reasons I'll explain presently, but it did cut Medicaid by redefining eligibility standards. Eligibility for Medicaid is now virtually synonymous with eligibility for welfare. In many states a family can qualify for Medicaid only if it is well below the poverty line.

By 1976 only 17 million people, or two-thirds of the people with incomes at or below the national poverty level, were covered by Medicaid; approximately 9 million more were excluded. According to a Brookings Institution study, at any given time no more than half the poor are covered by the program.

This isn't to say, of course, that the poor don't get sick. In fact they get sicker than anyone else; they just don't get the benefits 90 percent of the rest of America does.

The harsh logic of "charity."

According to David Rosner, an historian at the Baruch College-Mt. Sinai School of Medicine, behind this brutal fact is an ethic that has always governed American notions of public charity. It's a Puritanism that makes you eat crow if, say, you're a casualty of the layoffs at Chrysler, but rewards you thinly if you can pay heavy physical penance by being lame, blind, disabled—or old, which is why Medicare didn't get cut, while Medicaid did. To put it in other terms, if your exchange value in the cogs of capital is all used up, you can qualify for public "charity." If you have an ounce of blood and muscle left, you must re-

my last article—the 44-year-old alcoholic with meningitis and kidney failure—is just the sort of patient whose medical problems are so backed up, so boring, and, most important of all, so unremunerative, that private hospitals will very likely turn their backs on him.

According to Brown, public hospitals traditionally have served as safety-valves—places "that cannot pass the buck." It's the story of the poor subsidizing the rich all over again, this time on a much grander scale than the one represented by Cook County's meager offerings to Rush-Presbyterian. "The public hospital," writes Brown, "represents a subsidy to the voluntary [private] hospitals in that it permits them to operate within the confines of third-party financing as self-supporting institutions."

Those that have shall get.

Within the larger story of cost inflation and public policy is the smaller story of American health insurance, which pays for a large chunk of hospital costs. It's really quite simple. Insurance companies with the richest or the steadiest-paying clients pay hospitals the most. Programs with the poorest clients pay the least. Blue Cross reimbursements, for example, allow hospitals to claim "bad debts" as part of their normal business costs, but of course its biggest customers—private hospitals—don't have many of these. Blue Cross also pays handsomely for a wilderness of costs, including the depreciation on equipment like CT-scanners and hyperbaric chambers. Medicaid, of course, doesn't pay for the "costs" of aging equipment. In many states, it doesn't pay

treat to square one. For the ex-Chrysler worker, this would mean getting a heart attack or stroke from the stress of it all, which would then, perhaps, qualify him or her as an interesting teaching specimen at the local private hospital, a research item paid for the feds.

If you have neither medical insurance nor a trust fund to make you rich enough to pay your bills by yourself, you're called a "bad debt" in accounting bureaucratese. All hospitals have their share of "bad debts," but public hospitals have more of them than anyone else. This is because public hospitals must take all comers, while private ones can pick and choose their patients. It's common knowledge that private hospitals restrict even their share of Medicaid patients. As to the uninsured, private hospitals may take a few, but they'll pass the rest along to the city hospital across the way.

According to Richard Brown, the "dumped" patients are often the "difficult and undesirable cases—persons with alcohol, drug or psychiatric problems, as well as medical conditions that would strain staff or financial resources." The patient I described at the beginning of

for outpatient visits, a major part of any public hospital's business since the poor use outpatient clinics at public hospitals the way the middle class use the waiting rooms of private doctors. Neither does Medicaid pay for "bad debts," precisely because the bulk of its money goes to those hospitals with the most "bad debts." In this there is no hypocrisy—only self-interest and cold reckonings within the cash nexus.

There is a postscript to all of the foregoing. It comes from the public records of the Rate Setting Commission of my state, Massachusetts, which sets rates for health insurance programs and other parts of the medical system. According to the commission's records, Massachusetts General Hospital, Harvard's own teaching hospital and one of the most prestigious in the country, had total expenses last year of \$257.8 million, and a profit of \$5.5 million. It took in \$7.4 million for lab procedures alone, \$1.4 million in a category called "pharmacy," which includes all the drugs it gave its patients, \$1.9 million for the costs of running its operating room, and \$1.2 million for

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IN THE WORLD

ASSASSINS

Goal of Turkish terror is confusion

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

OUR ERA THROWS TOGETHER all the eras of human history in bizarre mixtures. There's something strangely medieval about a Turkish killer traveling to Rome to murder the Pope, a peculiar echo of distant centuries when Christendom trembled before the advancing Turkish conquerors. The shocked Western populations who saw the shooting on their television screens had forgotten all about that particular threat to their tranquility. At first, people tended to imagine more contemporary, more European motives behind the attempt on the life of Karol Wojtyla. But the would-be assassin, Mehmet Ali Agca, was apparently living in another mental world, aspiring to revive the glorious old days of Turkish terror.

Agca, 23, was a well-known assassin in Turkey, a member of the Grey Wolves killer organization commanded by Colonel Alparslan Turkes, leader of the fascist National Action Party. Agca was arrested in June 1979 in Istanbul for the assassination four months earlier of Abdi Ipekci, editor of the liberal newspaper *Milliyet*. The following November, Agca walked out of military prison in a guard's uniform, aided by numerous accomplices.

As vice premier under conservative Suleyman Demirel in the mid-'70s, Turkes had placed large numbers of his followers in key positions in the administration, the police and the schools. Agca seems to have been sprung to kill the Pope. At least he wrote to *Milliyet* that he would do so if the Pope carried out his plan to come to Turkey in November 1979 to bring moral support to Turkey's small Christian community—certainly one of Wojtyla's more daring excursions. Heavy security precautions evidently obliged Agca to postpone his assassination at-

as a friend of the Western free market economy."

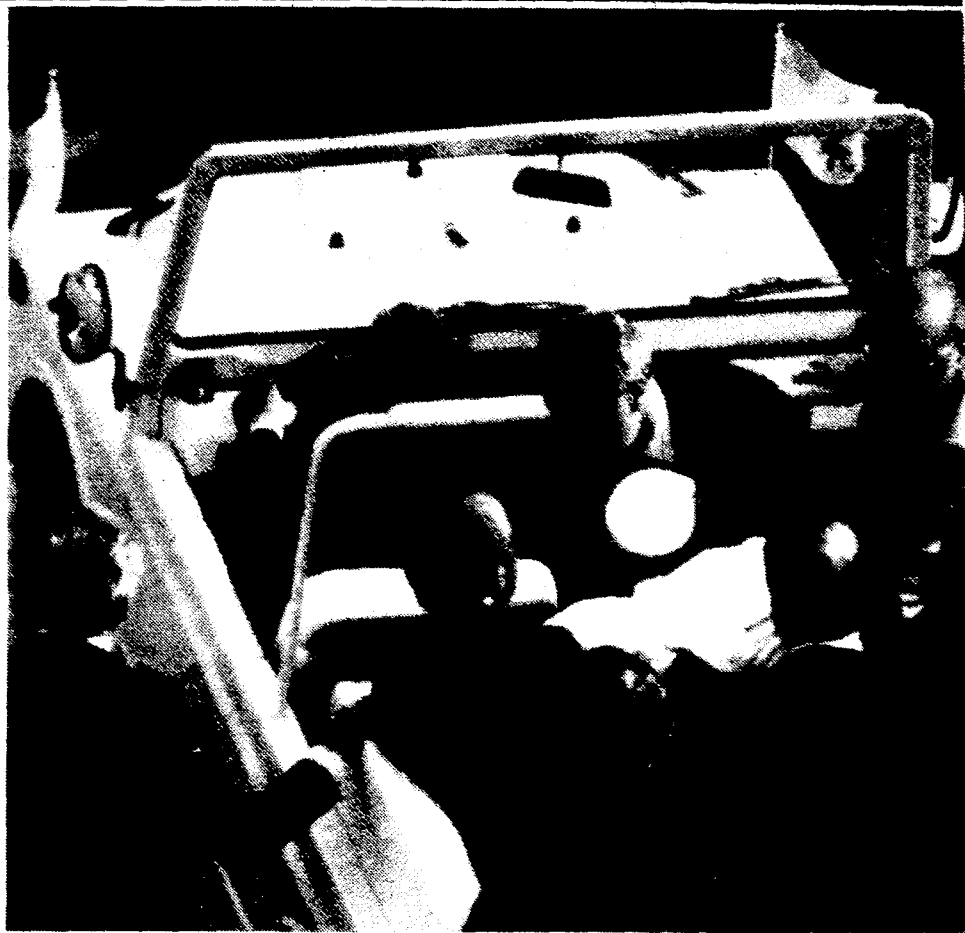
The massive uprooting of peasant populations who crowd into slums on the outskirts of alien modern cities has created—in Turkey as in the rest of the third world—a breeding ground for movements mixing modern nationalism with archaic social or religious ideas. But historic self-image can sharply differentiate one nationalism from another. Unlike Iran, ancient cradle of religions with a tradition of martyrdom for the Shi'ite faith, Turkish history abounds in warriors, not prophets. Turk means "strong," and the Turkish nation sprang from a warrior caste that expanded through conquest. The ambition aroused in the young Grey Wolves is to restore a strong militarist state eventually able to reconquer "greater Turkey," the territory where the old Turkish empire has left its traces in Turkish-speaking minorities.

The Turkish fascists are nationalist and racist, not religious, and their lip-service to Islam came late and for purely demagogic purposes. Their anti-Semitism extends to the Arabs, whom they once ruled none too tenderly, and whose desire to get rid of the Turks gave Britain and France their opportunity to penetrate the Middle East. To counter the British and French connections in the Arab world, the Germans developed links with Turkey, a factor that contributed to Turkish receptivity to Nazi ideology.

Thus the occasional Grey Wolf proclamations of brotherhood with the Palestinians seem to be a smoke screen. Agca told Italian interrogators he had been trained at a Palestinian camp in Syria, but was unable to identify it further. Such training would have been superfluous, considering the fascist terrorist training camps known to have operated in Turkey. When the Semitic world is worn down by Arab-Israeli feuding, the Turks can restore their mastery.

The Grey Wolves were indoctrinated to wipe out leftists, labor organizers and liberal intellectuals as instigators of the democratic chaos undermining Turkey's greatness. This dirty work was obviously appreciated by conservative forces who did not care to do it themselves. Colonel Turkes was thus allowed to hold high office and throw his weight around. For a while the killings—usually described in the press as between left and right extremists—ran to as many as 20 a day. The rightist killers were almost too effective for their own good. Once they had crippled the left, their usefulness was over. Last September, the more respectable, NATO-linked military officers took power to restore the state's monopoly on violence. The Grey Wolves had wanted a military coup, but not this one. Colonel Turkes and 219 of his followers were arrested and face possible execution.

Meanwhile, Mehmet Ali Agca had traveled to Europe with an abundance of ready cash and forged passports evidently provided by his organization. He is believed to have blended into the large Turkish "guest worker" population in West Germany, where the powerful Grey Wolves organization has recently been reinforced by fugitives from the military crackdown. Since the Grey Wolves tend to repress any leftist or even integrationist impulses in the Turkish community, German police may be tempted to look the other way. Italian police are accumulating clues that Agca, who scarcely speaks Italian, was in contact with local neo-fascists during his travels in Italy prior to his



Terrorist crimes encourage a fatalistic attitude.

attack on the Pope.

Why John Paul II? On one level the attack looks like an act of revenge against the West, which, through NATO, supported the wrong military coup. With his leader in prison and his party in trouble, Agca's act could be meant to raise the morale of the Turkish Nazis by showing that a Turk could strike down even the most respected Western leader. On another level, according to the Turkish military prosecution, the methods employed by Colonel Turkes' followers for preparing their takeover were "division" and "massacre." Certainly the assassination

of the popular Polish Pope, had it succeeded, would have created maximum confusion and division, which is one reason why Europe's most rationalist and anti-clerical left is praying for the Pope's recovery.

There is much comment about the "mindlessness" that produces such a crime, less about the mindlessness it produces. The atmosphere of irrationality built up around a shocking terrorist crime can encourage the fatalistic attitude that the world has "gone crazy" and is impossible to understand. Difficult, yes, but not necessarily impossible. ■

ITALY

Left can take heart from abortion vote

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE DEFEAT OF THE CONSERVATIVE Catholic referendum to repeal Italy's liberal abortion law was joyously celebrated in Italy as a great success for women and also as a welcome sign that Italy has indeed evolved into a mature civilized country.

As the results became known on the evening of May 18, people poured into the streets in Rome to demonstrate their delight. Voters had rejected by 68 percent to 32 percent the fundamentalist Catholic Movement for Life's proposal to limit abortion to cases where the mother's life was endangered.

Pope John Paul II had given his full personal support to the Movement for Life campaign, which would have abrogated the May 22, 1978, Law 194 legalizing abortion. The Vatican issued a special paper condemning abortion and the Pope stumped Italy preaching the same message at mass meetings. This tended to bring together the various laic parties, whose leaders grumbled that the Polish Pope was violating the Concordat that regulates church-state relations in Italy.

Four days before the voting, the Pope was wounded by a Turkish gunman in Saint Peter's square. Two huge pro-abortion rallies that were gathering in other parts of the city dispersed in dismay at the news. Many defenders of legal abortion feared that sympathy for the martyred Pope would turn voters around and

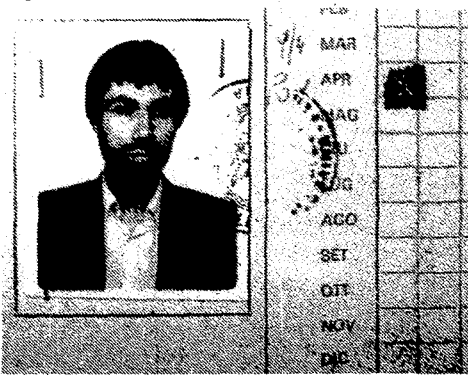
Posters of a popular soccer star asked, "What if his mother had had an abortion?"

inspire them to ban abortion. Some suggested that the referendum be postponed until emotions had calmed.

Anti-abortion clergy, on the other hand, did their best to dramatize the issue. In Naples, Cardinal Corrado Ursi spoke of "an orgy of sin and blood," rhetorically confusing abortion with terrorist murder. Posters displayed the photo of a popular soccer star with the question, "And what if his mother had had an abortion?"

Defenders of the existing law reminded Italians of the women who had died in clandestine abortions. Paradoxically, the strong moral and sentimental position of the mother inside the Italian family, usually seen as part of a conservative life pattern, has probably contributed to the overall success of Italian women in the fight for abortion and in general consciousness-raising connected with the women's movement. In many cases the women of the family, with a long memory of the suffering caused by clandestine abortion, have persuaded the others

Continued on page 22



Mehmet Ali Agca is a member of the fascist Grey Wolves.

tempt at that time.

Under questioning by Italian police, Agca responded with the confusing ideological statements Grey Wolves are trained to employ to throw pursuers off the scent. The role of Turkes' Grey Wolves is to spread fear and confusion, not ideas. The ideas were expressed in a handbook for members entitled *Nationalist Populist Doctrine*, which recognized Hitler as an imperfect forerunner. The Turks are a master race, destined to rule over lesser breeds. "Democracy is an invention of the Jews, to enable them to plunder the population more easily," the handbook taught. "Democracy paves the way for communism."

According to the German weekly *Der Spiegel*, "The Turkish right follows the classic double morality of fascism: while the rank and file are indoctrinated against big capital, the leaders make deals with the reactionary wings of business and finance. In fact Turkes, abroad as well as in Turkey, presented himself

ISRAEL

A real crisis, at a very convenient time

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

IN ISRAEL, THE PHRASE "NATIONAL consensus" has an almost magical ring to it. Whichever party is in power can be counted on to invoke the idea in support of war-like policies when it is afraid that public enthusiasm is waning. The moderate, dovish opposition, intimidated by the words, is then scared to let itself be seen as standing outside the consensus.

Deep down, many—if not most—Israelis do not support the current government's axioms on questions of settlements, borders or even Palestinians. But on the surface, when a threat to Israel's physical security—real or contrived—is perceived, the "national consensus" suddenly comes into fashion, and the anti-militarist left begins to worry that a war might be in the offing.

As the most recent crisis entered its fourth week, those who gauge the likelihood of war by using the "national consensus" indicator were beginning to breathe a little easier: despite all the fanfare and tough talk, Israelis were simply not buying the line that their security was endangered. "There is no consensus for war," read the banners of several thousand demonstrators from the consensus-conscious Peace Now movement in Tel Aviv on May 16. There were also dozens of petition drives and smaller actions, ranging from militant to cautious.

Never, recalled veterans of the Israeli left, was a pre-war situation in this country accompanied by such dissension or such questioning of the government's basic premises.

Of course the current election campaign is a major factor: at another time the Labor opposition might not go to such trouble to differentiate itself from Prime Minister Menahem Begin's Likud. (Labor has, by the way, endorsed the demand that Syria remove its anti-aircraft missiles.) But then if it were not election season, the crisis might not have arisen in the first place.

Begin and his party have registered a remarkable comeback in opinion polls over the last two months, even before the Lebanon situation began heating up. While Labor Party leaders fumbled, feuded and failed to present a clear and convincing alternative, a new finance minister totally reversed some of the unpopular austerity measures that had been the main reason for the government's decline. Small wage increases were granted after two years of steady drop, subsidies on essential food items were reinstated and, most dramatically, taxes on imported consumer items from cars to cosmetics were lowered, creating an end-of-season sale that poured money into state coffers for the short term and raised spirits all around, even among the majority of the public who could not afford the luxury goods affected.

Oppositionists and sober economists argued that the policy was reckless, would boomerang after the elections and would do little to stop three-digit inflation. They were right, of course: the consumer price index rise for April alone, announced on May 15, was 10.7 percent, double the prevailing rate for the first three months of 1981.

But what would have been a leading headline at any other time was buried under the missiles, the latest threats by Begin and Syrian President Hafez Assad, American envoy Philip Habib's frantic shuttling and the arrival of U.S. and Soviet warships on the scene. Even if many questioned the wisdom of Begin's moves, the crisis still distracted crucial attention from the economic time bomb, a mere six weeks before the election.

Nevertheless, the continuing crisis is very real and still dangerous. There can always be a first time for war even without national consensus in Israel; actual



Falangist marksmen in Beirut

fighting on a serious scale would still be likely to quash dissent temporarily. And, after all, Israel and Syria are both perched far out on their respective limbs, their leaders committed to winning the battle of nerves or at least saving face.

Chessboard complexities.

How the two main protagonists, and the various other players involved, got to where they are is a subject of considerable debate. Every day in the press and in private conversation, new theories appear—each more Machiavellian than its predecessor—as to who is doing what to whom and why. By any account, the situation resembles a giant chessboard

ministration would show Jerusalem.

The answer was apparently not red, but not clear green either: the U.S. still harbored hopes of wooing Syria into stepping in as a mediator and the only power capable of restraining Israel. But after Israel's embattled "allies," the Falangists, made amazingly conciliatory statements and actually opened negotiations with Syria (which, had they succeeded, would have foiled whatever plans Israel has), the helicopters were shot down, prompting the missile crisis and current stalemate.

This sequence was widely confirmed by the Israeli press and by several respected ex-generals speaking on state-

cated American and European arms if it is forced into backing pro-Soviet Syria against Israel. The Saudis seem to be doing their best to remain on the fence.

Exactly how far Israel is willing to go in confronting Syria is not yet clear. There seems to be a debate within the establishment between those who advocate taking advantage of Syria's current isolation from its neighbors Iraq and Jordan, and of the peace treaty with Egypt, while it lasts (the Israeli right is becoming more cynical, if not downright hostile, concerning the treaty's long-term prospects), to push Syria completely or partly out of Lebanon. Others warn that such a policy would have—and already is having—precisely the opposite effect: it is breaking Syria's isolation, endangering the peace with Egypt and bringing the USSR back into the picture as a necessary partner when the inevitable negotiating comes.

Begin has shown signs of wavering between the two positions, sometimes to such an extent that his opponents wonder out loud whether treatment for heart disease has left him mentally incompetent. On May 1, he amazed the country by refusing to acknowledge the existence of Syria's missiles even after the army had officially done so. Then, two weeks later, he shocked everyone by disclosing what military experts said should have been classified information about when and how the weather had foiled a raid on the missiles on April 30. Meanwhile, he had alienated a good portion of European—and Israeli—opinion by publicly blasting Chancellor Helmut Schmidt as a Nazi for considering arms sales to Saudi Arabia and EEC representative Dutch foreign minister Christoph van der Klaauw for shaking PLO leader Arafat's "bloody hand."

And while they're up...

In another perhaps significant moment of high rhetoric, Begin recently promised Israelis living along the northern border that the periodic shelling of their homes by PLO guns north of the Haddad enclave will end "very soon." Some saw a clear hint that if hostilities break out, Israel will take full advantage of the situation to mop up Palestinians as well as fight Syrians.

In fact, an excuse to hit at the Palestinians may be as much the aim of Israel's heating up the situation in Lebanon as any designs against Syria. The same day the two helicopters were shot down, a large air raid was staged against Palestinian camps, and even before the missile crisis there was talk of a possible

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Missile headlines distracted attention from Israel's economic time bomb in the crucial weeks before the June election.

with several games going on at once, and it is increasingly difficult to tell the players from the pawns.

But by now it is fairly clear how the latest events began: even the pro-government Israeli press, while faithfully quoting Begin's rhetoric about Jerusalem's moral obligation to the "oppressed and threatened Christians in Lebanon," admits that the Zahle fighting was sparked by a Falangist attempt to restrict Syrian movement around the town. This followed clashes in south Lebanon last March when the Israeli-backed Haddad forces along the border opposed a move to send pro-Syrian Lebanese Army units to the region. Considering the sequence—Begin's admission of direct aid to the rightist militias in north Lebanon and the highly publicized consultation between them and top Israel Army officers—it can quite safely be assumed that the initiative against Syria was at least approved by Israel.

Inevitably, Syria hit back, and soon the inferior Falange forces, together with the population they claimed to be defending, were under an admittedly brutal siege: the stage was set for more direct Israeli intervention. Alexander Haig came and went, messages flew back and forth to Washington and the question in late April was what color light the Reagan ad-

run television. Impressively skeptical, the public soon learned that despite Begin's graphic descriptions, the Syrian helicopters had not actually been bombing Christians when downed, but carrying supplies. Israelis also scoffed at their top brass' protests that Syria had been about to move the missiles anyway. If so, went the obvious question, why provide them with such a perfect excuse by shooting down two measly helicopters?

The motives behind the Israel government's maneuvers are somewhat harder to comprehend. Begin's hyperbole about Christian suffering under the "Nazi" Syrians cannot be taken seriously: the region has seen more than its share of pain without Israel so much as commenting, let alone intervening. The Begin government is, however, desperately interested in proving its worth to a new American administration that apparently sees world politics through the lens of U.S.-Soviet confrontation. Just as Lebanon's Falangist militias are pleased to drag Israel into war with Syria to forestall any possible settlement of the Lebanon issue at their expense, Israel is anxious to dispel any notion in Washington that other pro-Western countries in the area might make better allies. Saudi Arabia, for instance, might suddenly become less qualified to purchase sophisti-

Health

Continued from page 7
electrocardiograms and electroencephalograms. Boston City, a smaller hospital, limped sadly behind in the race to keep up with such medical opulence. Its total expenses were \$81.6 million but it lost \$51 million. It makes you think of Cinderella sans prince, her nose glued to the windows of the rich, wishing she could join the fancy dress ball. In her public hospital guise, she does join the ball but she makes a sad showing, and like all victims she gets bullied.

The facts between the lines.

In the population as a whole, deaths by cancer have quintupled since 1900: a quarter to a third of us will die of it. In the line items listed on the hospital ledgers at the Massachusetts Rate Setting Commission there is nothing, of course, about education in the matters of air pollution, carcinogenic food additives, or industrial exposures. But at Massachusetts General, \$10 million was spent on "diagnostic" and "therapeutic" X-rays. According to the American Heart Association and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in a lifetime of 65 years we lose 1,800 days for living in a city and 3,300 for smoking a pack of cigarettes a day. The Commission's hospital ledgers say nothing, of course, about the prevention of lung cancer, but one provocative line item, "pulmonary disease," shows \$1.5 million spent last year at Boston City Hospital alone.

The entire annual budget of the World Health Organization for last year, \$427.3 million, was only 1.6 times the total money spent for the same year at Massachusetts General Hospital. The entire World Health Organization budget for workers' health last year was \$2.2 million, as compared with the costs of radiology at Massachusetts General, Tufts New England Medical Center, Beth Israel and Boston City—nearly \$27 million. At those hospitals Workmen's Compensation figures as

a minor insurer, but Workmen's Comp takes care of you only *after* you've gotten the asbestosis and other work-related diseases the World Health Organization program leans toward preventing. As to prevention on a much smaller scale, the Massachusetts Lead Screening program for 1982 will have a budget of \$789,000. By some quirk in federal policy under President Reagan there will be no cuts in this budget. But by a local irony, under Massachusetts' own Governor Edward King the special lead screening program in Boston City will be axed next year. ■ *Ellen Cantarow, a columnist for the Cambridge Real Paper and author of Moving the Mountain: Women Working for Social Change, is now attending the Boston School of Public Health. Members of the Health Policy Advisory Center assisted in the research for this series. Contact them at Health/PAC, 17 Murray St., New York, NY.*

Refugees

Continued from page 5
to the junta," Tulio now admits. "But since traveling here I've found many people who do not agree with what the U.S. government is doing."
Tulio's attorney thinks his case will remain in limbo for the foreseeable future. "I think the government is going to delay on this case, leaving Tulio and many others in an uncertain state," says Haverstick. "Technically the government down there is an ally, so the U.S. is out to show the legitimacy of the junta. It's hard to give arms to the junta, on the one hand, and then grant political asylum to the thousands of refugees who are fleeing from it, on the other. If you compare the treatment of these Salvadorans, who are fleeing a war zone, to that of the Cubans who came here by boat last spring you can see a definite double standard being applied."
Among those who came by the Civil Liberties Union office following the hearing to find out the results was another refugee by the name of Mario.

Israel

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large offensive against what most Israelis still consider their perpetual enemy: "the terrorists."
If successful in the short term—either combined with a raid on the missiles or in the wake of an agreement that would effectively neutralize Syria—such a blow against the PLO could be just what Begin needs to get him past the June 30 election. While few were taken in by poker-faced politicians comparing the anti-aircraft missiles in north Lebanon to the 1962 Cuban missile crisis in the U.S., the Israeli national consensus still holds against the PLO.
Even the U.S. might be inclined to con-

He did not want to give his last name since he has not yet been caught by the INS. Mario is a 25-year-old deserter from the Salvadoran army. He joined the army when he was 15 and served 10 years in Cabanas, one of the guerrilla strongholds in the rugged northern mountains of El Salvador.
"I knew people in the army who were in the death squads. I won't name names because some are friends," he said. "Everyone knows this. But the nucleus is in the National Guard. That is where most of the death squad members come from.... Nobody told me to desert, but I decided to leave on my own. This was when I felt there was no hope left. Not that the army would lose, because I really don't know what will happen, but I felt that the army was not helping the people. There are many desertions taking place right now. It's not hard. I just got on buses and rode to Guatemala. When you wear a uniform nobody asks questions."
Asked about casualties, Mario said about 50 members of his army group had been killed in the last year—out of 180. Asked how many people his group had killed, he just smiled. ■ *David Helvarg reports regularly on Central America for In These Times.*

done such a move: Haig and Habib are rediscovering that a pro-American alliance in the region is impossible without a political solution to the Palestinian problem. So why not go along with an attempt at a military solution?
Wherever the latest crisis is leading, it does not seem to be towards a solution to what remains the key issue—lack of Palestinian self-determination—nor, for that matter, to any of the intertwined conflicts being fought out on Lebanese territory. Besides the Israel-PLO, Israel-Syria, Haddad-PLO and Falange-Syria disputes, there is still a civil war between rightist and democratic forces; with Christian-Moslem overtones, going on in the country. Bands sponsored by Iraq and Iran are shooting at each other in Beirut, and soldiers serving in the UN force are being fired at from several sides.
This is the "status quo" that Begin and the U.S. now say they want to restore: civil war as before, with a tacit Syrian-Israeli agreement on respective levels of intervention. Addressing his words to Syrian President Assad in a statement to parliament on May 12, Begin said, straight-faced: "Restore the status quo ante in Lebanon and everything will fall peacefully into place."
Perhaps Begin today regrets the way events have unfolded and wishes to restore the status quo. But the Israeli army's northern district commander, General Avigdor Ben-Gal, an outspoken advocate of the adventurist line, gave a different opinion in an interview less than a month earlier. Justifying the Falange offensive on Zahle, he said: "If the Christians become frozen into merely maintaining the status quo, they are likely to become weak. There is justification for military initiatives, if only for internal-psychological and international political reasons. It's very easy now to bring tranquility for three years and the whole world will forget the existence of the Christians."
He need not worry; the world has been reminded. But it may not have much patience left for such reckless reminders by those who seem to be forgetting some of the very history they cite as justification for the maintenance of their own national consensus. ■



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SOUTHEAST ASIA

Unexploded U.S. bombs sabotage recovery in Laos

By Chris Mullin

PLAIN OF JARS, LAOS

MR. KHAMONE VONG TOOK us along a winding track leading away from the prehistoric jars that give the plain its name. Eventually we came to a cave, the entrance to which was marked by an empty Heineken beer can.

"This," said Khamone, "is where we lived during the bombing." Khamone knows rather a lot about bombing; the Plain of Jars and the surrounding province of Xieng Khouang has the unenviable distinction of being the most heavily bombed territory in the history of warfare. Between 1964 and 1973 the Americans poured more than two million tons of assorted napalm, high-explosive and anti-personnel bombs onto the beautiful hills and valleys of Laos. Much of it fell on Xieng Khouang.

Today, eight years after the bombing

The Pentagon will not say what kind of ordnance was dropped or how to dismantle it, claiming the information is classified.

ceased, much of the ordnance still lurks unexploded in the undergrowth, awaiting some unsuspecting Lao farmer.

Khamone has drawn the short straw. His job is to find the bombs and destroy them so that the land can be made habitable again. Some idea of the scale of the problem may be gleaned from the fact that to clear 5,000 hectares for the newly completed Lat Sen state farm 120 men worked 18 months and unearthed 12,700 unexploded bombs.

The Lao simply don't have the technology to cope with the problem. At Lat Sen they used Soviet-supplied metal detectors mounted on Jeeps. Each bomb was individually exploded from a safe distance by a charge of dynamite.

Apart from being time-consuming, this method of bomb disposal requires large and costly supplies of dynamite and the Soviet-made metal detectors are unsuitable for locating the large bombs that can sink as much as 12 meters into the ground.

As a result, the bomb disposal program has more or less fizzled out and the farmers have been left to deal with bombs in their rice paddies as best they can. This they do by picking up the smaller bombs and throwing them as far as possible in the hope they will explode; the larger bombs they simply steer their plows around.

There have been some terrible accidents. Last September at a village called Ban Tone nine people died when a bomb went off. There are no up-to-date totals for the numbers killed by unexploded ordnance, but in the four years after the bombing ended in 1973, 267 civilians are said to have died and another 343 were seriously injured in bomb accidents.

Probably the only country with the ex-

pertise and technology to help clear away the unexploded ordnance is the United States. But to raise the subject at the U.S. embassy in Vientiane is to invite a lecture on the Lao's failure to cooperate in tracing the bodies of American pilots who went down while bombing Laos.

The only Americans who have shown an interest in helping with the ordnance problem are Mennonites who run a number of small aid projects in Laos. Fred Swartzendruber, the Mennonite representative in Laos, has written to both the State Department and the Pentagon in Washington requesting information on the kind of ordnance dropped and how it can best be dismantled. His request was refused on the grounds that the information is classified.

And a suggestion that the Americans could perhaps train Lao technicians to dismantle the ordnance was rejected on the grounds that this would amount to military aid.

Eventually the Mennonites gave up trying to interest the U.S. government



Those who fled the bombing and have now returned to the Plain of Jars have had to start from scratch.

and set to work to design an armor-plated tractor capable of detonating the smaller bombs. A prototype was airlifted into Xieng Khouang last year, but it has hardly been used. The armor plating did not prove strong enough and drivers were afraid of detonating a large bomb and blowing themselves up.

Says Swartzendruber: "We didn't really think we could solve the bomb problem on our own. We were hoping we would be the catalyst for a bigger agency or at least we thought we could provide a bomb disposal system that could be duplicated."

So far there is nothing doing. The American ambassador in Thailand, Morton Abramowitz, told the Mennonites: "Frankly, I don't think you'll get much media interest unless one of you blows himself up."

Among the reasons the Americans give for refusing to aid Laos with bomb disposal are reports that the Lao airforce has been dropping poison gas on Hmong hill tribesmen who fought for the U.S. and continued to resist the Pathet Lao after the Americans had gone. Most of the reports originate in Thai refugee camps where many thousands of Hmong have fled. A recent *Readers' Digest* article alleged that the Lao were trying to exter-

minate the Hmong.

While it is not possible to discount these reports—some of which are very detailed—a visit to Xieng Khouang, where thousands of Hmong people live,

makes nonsense of some of the wilder allegations. The president of the province committee, Yong Yia, is a Hmong and so are several members of the committee; the head of the provincial hospital is also a Hmong.

In a Hmong village overlooking the provincial capital of Phone Savane, we came across Hmong who fought for the Americans living and working alongside Hmong who fought for the communists.

An official said that in the first six weeks of this year there had been three incidents in which trucks had been ambushed by renegade hill tribesmen, but that they did not pose a serious problem. Of greater concern to the authorities has been the slash-and-burn agriculture practiced by the Hmong, which has badly damaged the country's forests. Efforts to coax the Hmong to abandon slash and burn and come down from the hills to grow paddy rice have met with only limited success.

Reconstructing the Plain of Jars and the surrounding Xieng Khouang province poses other problems as well. The pre-war population was around 200,000. During the bombing most of these people fled south as refugees; those who remained lived in caves and tunnels in the forest, emerging only at night to try and plow their fields. No towns or villages survived the holocaust.

Those who returned had to start again from scratch. The old provincial capital was annihilated. The new one, Phone Savane, is a town of about 5,000 people living in single-story houses made mainly of wooden planks and old packing cases with roofs of thatch or corrugated iron.

Timber is plentiful, but there is a shortage of saw-mills; land is plentiful, but there is an acute shortage of buffalo to plow. Even basic tools like hoes and shovels are in short supply. The hospital has virtually no medicine.

Outside aid has been forthcoming in small quantities. Besides Soviet assistance with the state farm, the Mongolians are helping with a new provincial hospital, American Quakers have a small irrigation project, the Vietnamese are building an all-weather road and an oil pipeline to Vietnam and the United Nations is funding a pig-breeding project.

But progress is hampered by the Lao incapacity to absorb aid in large quantities. Huge quantities of valuable machinery lie rusting for want of spare parts and all aid donors complain of the obstacles posed by bureaucracy.

We leave Phone Savane in a 35-year-old Antonov biplane. As the plane sweeps low over the Plain of Jars we see below a landscape pock-marked with bomb craters. Sometimes the bombs have fallen so close together that the craters interlock. Amid the craters little clusters of thatched houses have arisen and beyond them, rice paddies. Slowly, very slowly, the Plain of Jars is coming back to life.

Chris Mullin, former London correspondent for *In These Times*, has been filing a series of reports from Southeast Asia.

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Photo by Marucha

Austerity with a human face

By Maxine Molyneux
and Fred Halliday

Daily life in Cuba is plagued by shortages and inefficiencies. But the revolution's sometimes fitful progress still insures popular support.

H A V A N A

EVERY SATURDAY THE STREETS AND OPEN spaces of Cuba are filled with blue-uniformed members of the new Territorial Force Militia, a body now being raised in response to the growing threats to Cuba from the U.S. The young men and women volunteers now practicing drill, organized by place of residence, are being trained to supplement the regular army in the event of a foreign attack or serious disruption by right-wing exile groups landing from the open sea.

From the earliest days of the revolution, when acts of sabotage were common, Cuba has had a system of

Committees for the Defense of the Revolution whose members still mount nightly observation shifts: the women, in pairs, from 11 p.m. to 2 a.m., the men, singly, on the more arduous 2 to 5 a.m. shift. But these CDR groups have usually been unarmed. The emergence of a militia, for the first time since the mid-'60s, is an indication of how seriously the Cuban leadership regards the current international climate.

Cuba's response to attacks from the Reagan administration is a mixture of caution and determination. At the December 1980 Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, Castro made clear that he remained ready for serious negotiations with the U.S. on matters of dispute between the two countries. The Cuban agenda

includes the American embargo, the base at Guantanamo, and the Cuban assets seized by the U.S. two decades ago. The U.S.'s agenda includes Cuba's foreign policy initiatives, especially in Central America and Africa, and the compensation that American firms still demand for assets nationalized after the revolution in 1959.

At the same time Castro made clear he would make no concessions to the U.S. on matters of principle, and this can be taken to include Cuba's foreign policy. The anniversary of the abortive American-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961—which coincided with the announcement by Castro of the socialist nature of the revolution—was used by the authorities this year to strike a defiant and militant note. Posters around Havana proclaimed "Cuba is not alone," a reference to the fact that the island's isolation in South America has been broken by successful revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada. The slogan is also an implicit reference to a 1967 speech following the defeat of a number of Latin American guerrilla movements in which Castro told the Cuban people that they *were* alone.

The Cuban press has given wide and enthusiastic coverage to the guerrilla movements in El Salvador and Guatemala. While no one expects any quick victories, there is quiet confidence that popular resistance in Central America will continue. Somewhat less prominent coverage is given to the campaigns by Cuban forces in Ethiopia and Angola; but the role that Cuba has played in these countries is not forgotten. Young men who participated in these wars are introduced as "internationalist fighters," and slogans on billboards in Havana carry the unambiguous message: "We shall never lower the flags of internationalism."

The Cubans insist that they are uniquely concerned to defend revolutionary African states from external aggression—by South Africa in the case of Angola, and by Somalia in the case of Ethiopia. They insist that they are not involved in what are deemed to be the internal affairs of such countries, a category that includes the Eritrean issue in Ethiopia.

The Cubans are, however, conscious of the growing pressures upon them. Last year a Cuban diplomat ac-

good showing in the event of an American assault. It lies rather in the knowledge that any substantial U.S. attack on Cuba would be met by a Soviet riposte elsewhere in the world. The "Soviet combat brigade" that Carter and Reagan have used to embarrass Cuba internationally is merely a symbol of something that has been internationally recognized since the missile crisis of 1962.

Soviet economic aid has proved to be a double-edged—though on the balance positive—affair. Without it, Cuba could not enjoy the living standards it does today or have accomplished its substantial growth rates of the '70s (about 5 percent a year in Gross Social Product during the latter part of the decade). Anyone who saw Cuba in the '60s is struck by the great economic improvements.

Soviet support comes in particular through the agreement to buy up to 4 million tons of Cuban sugar a year at 30 cents a pound—far above the prevailing world market price of 8 cents—and to index this to the cost of Soviet goods supplied to Cuba. Such arrangements have enabled Cuba, with many delays and false starts, to sever the ties that bound it to North American markets before the revolution. This year, for example, the Cubans have finally completed the laborious and infuriating task of converting all the island's electricity from the American 110-volt system to the European 220-volt one. Even the long-postponed task of mechanizing the sugar harvest is now moving forward, with great improvements in efficiency.

Yet there have also been many headaches in the Soviet-Cuban relationship. Many items of equipment have been unsuited to Cuban needs or inferior in quality, and the lack of qualified technicians and managers in Cuba itself has led to waste and bottlenecks. The Russians must have been relieved when the first 10 years of Cuba's idealistic experimentation with such revolutionary ventures as "non-monetary accounting" gave way in the '70s to a more sober planning mechanism.

Still, the Cubans do not question the fundamental alliance with the USSR, and, as they see it, the world offers them no option to do so. It would be a mistake to see their foreign policy or their role in Africa as an expression of some coerced acceptance of Soviet goals: the image of Cuba as a revolutionary beacon shining out in the third world has a wide appeal, at least among the younger people, and confirms a deep patriotic note that has always been present in the Cuban revolution.

The substantial economic advances of the '70s have gone together with new patterns of administration aimed at increasing popular involvement in decision-making on some issues. One of the big lessons drawn from the failure of the voluntaristic campaign to produce 10 million tons of sugar in 1970 was the need for a more efficient and realistic planning mechanism. The other was the need for more feedback and consultation at the base.

To help solve the latter problem, a "People's Power" system was established in 1976. Local, regional and national assemblies of elected deputies now provide a forum in which matters relating to the everyday workings of the economy can be discussed. The more than 1,000 delegates to the local assemblies must then account for their activities on behalf of the electorate at special open meetings.

The need for such a system was underscored not only by the failure to meet large economic targets, but also by the many problems of everyday life encountered by the Cuban population—particularly the 60 percent of it living in the towns. Many of these problems arise from the disruption of the urban economy as a result of the blockade, or from the necessary diversion of resources to the rural sector; but more than a few result from failings of those in charge of urban services. Housing is a near-universal problem and severe shortages continue, with consequent difficulties for couples, families and whole communities. Havana's water supply is often on stream only two hours a day, and the machines that pump water into apartment building tanks break down frequently. The food supply has greatly improved and there are many cheap restaurants and bars; but the meat ration for consumption at home is only ¼ lb. per person every nine days, and is not always of the best quality. Such items as soap may be unavailable for longer periods or of poor quality. Despite gradual improvements, urban transport remains a major headache—and the number of private cars is still restricted.

Urban Cuba was not among the poorest societies of the third world at the time of the guerrilla triumph, and the attractions of Miami transmitted via returning relatives has certainly taken its subversive toll. It has created a "counter-revolution of rising expectations" that has accentuated discontent in the cities. On an objective measure, the excellent medical and health facilities, the leisure activities and the gradual rise in urban living standards may counterbalance these problems. But this is not a balance that all Cuba's inhabitants can be expected to keep firmly in mind, after 20 years of toil and sacrifice.

The system of People's Power has been successful in the realm of lower-level economic decision-making. But it is not, as some of its more enthusiastic foreign

exponents claim, a new revolutionary system of general democratic control. The candidates who stand for local election are chosen on the basis of their personal records and are banned by the electoral law from voicing political views. Those at the regional and national levels are largely chosen by the Party. The powers of the local assemblies are also limited to certain aspects of the economic administration itself: matters of foreign policy, leadership personnel or political structure are not raised within them. Debates at the higher levels tend to be regulated, and the top leadership makes all major decisions.

The press in Cuba tells its own story: though more original than that of other third-world revolutionary states—and considerably more informative about the outside world—it is still that of a single ruling party. When, for example, the Cuban media report, as they frequently do, on the activities of what are called "counter-revolutionaries" in Poland, it is fair to assume that what is happening in that country is seen by the authorities in Cuba as a negative example.

Beyond the administrative decentralization of the People's Power system, there has also been a considerable degree of loosening up at the workplace, such that some observers now talk about the "Cuban NEP," referring to the New Economic Policy introduced by Lenin to boost production in Russia in 1921. The old system of moral incentives for those who fulfill output targets has been replaced by one of material incentives—awarded as often to whole factories or work-groups as they are to individuals. The voluntary labor campaigns of the '60s have been wound down. A new accounting system introduced in 1978 pays much greater attention to monetary costs and to profit concerns in planning production, and enterprises now have greater control over their own planning and recruitment.

In 1980 a free market for agricultural goods was introduced in which peasants who meet their targets for the state can sell any surplus. The result has been a substantial rise in agricultural output and an easing of urban food shortages.



The invasion of the butterflies.

The pressures for improvement in daily living conditions have been intensified by the temporary visits of Cubans who fled in the '60s and their children. These *mariposas*, or butterflies, paint an enticing picture of a better life in the U.S. that surely played some part in the Cuban government's decision to allow 100,000 citizens to leave last year from the port of Mariel.

The exodus from Mariel brought out some of the best, and some of the worst, aspects of the Cuban revolution. The decision to allow people to leave, and to release political prisoners, called the bluff of Cuba's enemies and was a courageous way of deflating some of the inevitable tension in the population. Yet the exodus was accompanied by considerable ugly harassment and victimization at the neighborhood level of those who declared their intention to leave. The official term used for them is *la escoria*, or scum. Though some of the people were denounced as parasites or counter-revolutionaries, others were harassed for being homosexuals until instructions were given for this to cease.

These problems of popular attitudes, and the many difficulties encountered in developing the economy, may not be resolved quickly. Nor do the international difficulties that Cuba faces offer any easy solution. Cuba has had the particular misfortune to serve as chair of the non-aligned nations movement during both the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war. Ultimately, ending Cuba's isolation will depend on the growth of a bloc of revolutionary countries in the third world that will enable it to diversify its political and economic links without prejudicing its security.

But as the Cuban revolution enters its third decade its leadership must have considerable reason for confidence. Internally, the regime appears to command widespread loyalty, on patriotic as well as social grounds: the inefficiencies and shortcomings in everyday provisions are being overcome, albeit too slowly. Cuba has won considerable respect internationally and has allies that are not going to desert it. Whatever the fate of the guerrillas in El Salvador and Guatemala there is every indication that Latin America will remain in considerable ferment. The Americans imagined in 1961 that it would be easy to topple the Cuban government, and they learned their lesson at the Bay of Pigs. It is doubtful that the re-born covert activists of the Reagan administration will meet with any greater success.

Maxine Molyneux is a lecturer in sociology at the University of Essex and an editor of *Feminist Review*. Fred Halliday, a fellow of the IPS Transnational Institute and an editorial associate of *MERIP Reports* and *New Left Review*, reports regularly for *In These Times*.



credited to the UN, Felix Garcia, was murdered in New York. Moroccan planes strafed Cuban fishing vessels in the Atlantic. Exile groups in Miami, bolstered by new recruits from the exodus of last year and from Nicaraguan right-wing refugees, are training and planning for attacks on Cuba in the hope that Reagan will back them. One group alone, Alpha 66, claims to have carried out 30 sabotage missions inside Cuba in the past six months.

The Cubans are also aware that their diplomatic advances in Latin America are threatened: Colombia broke off relations in late March, alleging that Cuba had assisted the M-19 guerrillas there—a charge Cuba officially denies; relations with Ecuador, Venezuela and Peru are strained, and trade with Argentina has declined while Cuba's press coverage of human rights violations in that country has increased. The election defeat of Manley in Jamaica deprived Cuba of a near-by ally. Yet the Cubans believe that there can be no return to the complete Latin American boycott of the '60s, when only Mexico retained contact with them: Mexico is still acting as an important shield from the full blast of American anger, relations with several other Latin American states remain open and there is some expectation of improved relations with the Brazilian administration.



The good and bad news of Soviet aid.

The slogan "Cuba is not alone" also has a more fundamental meaning that is not dependent on the fate of left-wing movements elsewhere in Latin America: for since the early '60s Cuba has received substantial military, political and economic support from the USSR. The military guarantee to the revolutionary government does not hinge on the presence of Soviet military personnel on the island—no one doubts that the Cuban armed forces could themselves make a

EDITORIAL

Only Commies deserve human rights

Ronald Reagan's nomination of Ernest Lefever as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs clearly reflects the administration's own human rights philosophy (*In These Times*, May 27). With its decision to prop up the Guatemalan and El Salvadoran dictatorships and to join Argentina and the Soviet Union in opposing the creation of a UN Working Group on Political Disappearances, the Reagan administration has already made clear—whether or not Lefever is nominated—that his philosophy is its philosophy.

Lefever's human rights philosophy arose out of an attempt to rehabilitate Henry Kissinger's much criticized *realpolitik* by providing it with a moral basis. Kissinger had argued for subordinating North-South conflicts within developing nations to the global East-West battle against the Soviet Union. He was prepared to do business with the Communist Chinese or with Chile's Pinochet, regardless of his opinion of these regimes.

Kissinger's policies provoked a human rights counterrevolution in Congress, which passed 13 bills between 1974 and 1980 tying foreign aid to human rights considerations. Opposition to Kissinger also inspired Jimmy Carter's initial espousal of a diplomacy grounded in human rights.

Lefever tried to rescue the Kissinger East-West strategy by framing the question of human rights in the context of a distinction between "authoritarian" and "totalitarian" regimes. "Authoritarian regimes permit a significantly greater degree of freedom and diversity than the totalitarian ones," Lefever wrote. And they show a "capacity" to "evolve into democratic rule."

By conveniently lumping all communist dictatorships—from the Soviet Union and Cuba to Mozambique and Angola—in the "totalitarian camp" and all right-wing military dictatorships from Chile and Argentina to Zaire and Indonesia in the "authoritarian camp," Lefever attempted to obscure the inherent contradiction in the term "free world" and allowed the Reagan administration to argue that its support for "authoritarian" regimes is consistent with a commitment to human rights and freedom.

But there is no basis for this distinction, which is simply another weapon in the Reagan administration's new Cold War.

Chile compared to Cuba.

Lefever likes to compare right-wing Latin American dictatorships with Cuba. "There is far more freedom and cultural vitality in Chile—even in its present state of siege—than in Cuba," Lefever wrote. "There have been political prisoners in Chile and there may be a handful now, but there are an estimated 15,000 to 60,000 political prisoners in Cuba."

Amnesty International's 1980 Report leads to almost the opposite conclusion. Political freedom in Cuba remains limited. Organized political opposition is illegal; according to Amnesty International (AI), one Cuban journalist was arrested simply for writing, and storing privately in his desk, ideas contrary to the official state ideology. But AI cites only 250 "long-term political prisoners." It gives evidence of prisoner harassment, but not of torture. There is nothing in AI's report that suggests 15,000-60,000 political prisoners.

Its report on Chile is typically harrowing. "An Amnesty International Survey of some 1,500 detentions reveals that most of those arrested were taken to secret places of detention and tortured by, among other methods, electric shock,



suspension, and beatings," the Report said. AI also details the discovery during 1980 of 318 Chileans who, like their Argentine cousins, had mysteriously "disappeared."

In Chile, opposition parties are outlawed. As Dr. Kurt Gottfried noted at the Lefever hearings, its university faculties have been decimated. A new university law abolishes altogether the faculties of philosophy and humanities. If there is greater cultural diversity in Chile than in Cuba, it must consist in the greater variety of restaurants and boutiques available to that country's wealthy.

Is Chile more likely to evolve into a democratic society than Cuba? As Tom J. Farer wrote recently in *The New York Review of Books*, Latin America's dictatorships have proved depressingly stable. (In Nicaragua, the Somoza family ruled for nearly 50 years.) And Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile ended democratic rule there.

But there is another way to look at this question. A necessary but not sufficient condition of political democracy is some degree of economic democracy. At the minimum, a country whose people are starved, sick and illiterate will not easily evolve into a political democracy.

This is, however, another area where the so-called totalitarian states have done better than Lefever's authoritarian regimes. Cuba can best be compared here with Brazil, which has been ruled by a dictatorship since 1964, and which supposedly enjoyed an "economic miracle" from 1968 to 1973.

A look at Brazil's statistics reveals that its economic miracle came at the expense of its citizenry. From 1958 to 1970, real wages were reduced 64.5 percent, while infant mortality rose. In 1977, three-fourths of the workforce earned less than the minimum wage in 1958. As of 1978, the World Bank estimated that 65 percent of Brazilians more than 15 years old were functionally illiterate. More conservative figures put illiteracy at 32 percent.

In Cuba, 23 percent were illiterate in 1958, prior to the revolution. By the mid-'60s illiteracy had dropped dramati-

cally, and is currently 3.1 percent. Cuba presently spends 9.3 percent of its GNP on education compared to 3.5 percent in Brazil and 3.8 percent in Chile. Life expectancy is 72 years in Cuba compared to 61 years in Brazil. Where Cuba's poorer 40 percent of the population had 6 percent of the country's income before the revolution, by the mid-'70s, it received 20 percent.

(In Chile, the standard of living of the poorer 20 percent of the population has dropped one-fifth during Pinochet's rule.)

Cuba is no paradise, particularly compared to its Northern neighbor, and its political system is certainly not democratic, but there are no grounds for accepting Lefever's comparison between "totalitarian" Cuba and "authoritarian" Chile and Brazil, except possibly in reverse.

Carter's precedent.

The Carter human rights policy tended to be selective—for instance, it singled out Argentina and the Soviet Union, while excepting Iran and the Philippines. By December 1979, with the decision to send military aid to the Moroccan King Hassan, the Carter administration had simply abandoned it. But its initial espousal and practice—particularly in southern Africa—did establish an important precedent.

An emphasis on human rights can be justified on political and economic as well as moral grounds. Carter's more enlightened advisors understood that most revolutionary movements in the Third World would prefer not to align themselves with either the Soviet Union or the U.S. Revolutionary governments have become extremely reluctant to scare away international capital. When the Carter administration tested this hypothesis on Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe (who Lefever termed a "devil"), it was confirmed.

When the U.S. has taken the contrary tack and attempted to shore up allied governments, whatever their popular base, we have inevitably found ourselves

the recipients of long suppressed and virulent anti-Americanism. In this sense, the U.S. laid the basis for the Ayatollah Khomeini's anti-Americanism and for the Iranian hostage crisis.

There are also distinct economic disadvantages to the Brazilian model of capitalist authoritarianism, which has long been championed by the U.S. While it provides initial access for multinationals, it exacerbates the world problem of surplus capacity by creating supply without demand, consumer products without consumers. Western European economists have come to realize this and are presently backing plans to redistribute wealth in Third World countries as a means of creating new markets.

Human rights principles.

A renewed emphasis on human rights is therefore called for. The question is what principles should govern it. While it is impossible to list universal criteria, it is possible to spell out some overriding but sometimes conflicting considerations:

- The U.S. should respect the right of other countries to self-determination. We should beware what former Senator William Fulbright called "the arrogance of power." In this respect, we should forgo intervention in the domestic affairs of both Chile and Cuba.

- The U.S. should not extend military aid to any government except possibly in circumstances where its own freedom is threatened by external intervention, and then only with the aim of helping to expel foreign invaders. The Nazi invasion of Poland or France would have satisfied this criterion. So would any Soviet invasion of Western Europe.

- The U.S. should provide economic aid unilaterally and through international organizations with a view toward increasing economic democracy in Third World countries.

- And the U.S. should cooperate with the United Nations and other international agencies in bringing pressure on regimes—whatever their self-described political character—that practice gross violations of human rights.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PLUS 2

I THOUGHT I WOULD PASS ON THE Jewish question debate, to which in my view you devoted far too much space. But Arthur Kahn's letter (*ITT*, May 6) changed my mind. The theme in this and too many other letters that I find objectionable is that Jews have been the primary—and almost the only—victims of man's inhumanity to man. So much has been made of this theme—for political and other reasons—that a generation of Jews and non-Jews may actually believe it. As demonstration of this assertion, the Holocaust remembrance day held in this area, and the editorials in the local area newspapers, spoke only about the 6 million Jewish lives lost. Not a word about 6 to 7 million Christian and other lives lost in the same Holocaust, or the 20 million Russian lives lost in that war.

One life lost—Jewish or non-Jewish—is unbearable and too many. But a distorted view of these tragedies—which I feel Kahn's letter exemplifies—can provide too easy an excuse for other brutalities.

For example, the present day brutal treatment of Palestinians and Lebanese by the Israeli government—leading to unarmed civilian lives lost or maimed, homes destroyed and land stolen. This coupled with denial of basic civil rights and academic freedom to the people of the West Bank and persistent humiliation and harassment, with no recourse, is the untold story of evil in our own times.

Similarly, the Left has yet to address Arab anti-Semitism and these latest evils with the courageous openness and good conscience it displays toward other causes. I trust *ITT* will concern itself with this critical issue.

—Mae Stephen
Palo Alto, Calif.

NOT SO FAST

AS THE FATHER OF A SEVERELY RETARDED young man who is currently a resident of a Maryland institution for the retarded, I wish to comment on "Human Care for Retarded People," by Michael Berres (*ITT*, May 13).

Berres strongly endorses the trend toward de-institutionalization and group homes for retarded persons, and is critical of remaining obstacles, such as unfavorable court decisions.

There are many gradations of retardation, and group homes or other kinds of "least restrictive" environments are good where feasible. But there is always a first question to be posed: why can't retarded persons remain at home? The reason is that the care of retarded persons in the home usually imposes great psychological and physical burdens upon parents and siblings, burdens that become intolerable with age. This means that the "normal" social environment, which Berres insists should surround the life of retarded persons, isn't suitable for them.

Group homes may provide the facilities needed by some retarded persons, but many present serious medical and behavioral problems that require services available at all times. It is hard to see how group homes, which are small and cannot house more than one or two supervisors, can accommodate the necessary personnel and facilities.

Now, Willowbrook State School, which Berres cites as one of the horrifying institutions of the past—and, my

son having been a resident there, I can affirm Berres' judgment—didn't fail because it was an institution. It failed because it was run like a warehouse; it was too big, understaffed, staffed by persons with inadequate training and indifferently run. But the institution where my son now resides is relatively small, reasonably well staffed, and run by a capable, caring staff of educators, physicians, social workers and administrators.

I am not sure whether the figures cited by Berres for the average cost of maintaining a retarded person in an institution as against a group home—\$34,000 annually vs. \$6,700—are correct. But even if the difference is smaller than the one implied here, it offers a powerful incentive to de-institutionalize and, again, to send retarded persons into "communities" that don't exist or group homes that aren't staffed and equipped appropriately.

I would therefore warn against enthusiasm for group homes as a general solution to the problem of institutions.

—Horst Brand
Bethesda, Md.

INTERIORS

I LIKE YOUR NEW FEATURE/PHOTOGRAPHY "American Interiors." It adds to your already fine graphic style. Thanks.

—Pat Olson
St. Paul, Minn.

SATIRE

HERE IS AN ITEM FOR YOUR TRUTH-is-more-awful-than-satire department. Satirist George Lowrey writes in his recent piece, "A new strategy to defeat terrorists and their ilk" (*ITT*, May 20), that "Argentina is developing a Family Plan" to silence the families of people who have "disappeared." Could Lowrey have been alluding to the following conversation, taken from Jacobo Timerman's recent essay in *The New Yorker*? Timerman and an Argentine officer are discussing "terrorists": "...But if we exterminate them all there will be fear for several generations."

"What do you mean by all?"

"All—about twenty thousand people. And their relatives, too—they must be eradicated. And also those who remember their names." (Jacobo Timerman, "No Name, No Number," in *The New Yorker*, April 20, 1981, p. 86.) Timerman's essay has since appeared in book form.

—Paul Goldstein
Chicago, Ill.

SOUTH AFRICA

THANKS FOR YOUR ARTICLE ON THE South African elections (*ITT*, May 13). Here are a few additions:

First, the current "Nats" aren't responsible for the weighting toward rural districts, which so favors them. It has been entrenched in the political system since the formation of the Union in 1911, a concession made by the British to the then recently conquered Afrikaners to help ensure peaceful exploitation of African labor and mineral resources.

Second, the current National Party was once a "purified" splinter of an earlier National Party. That earlier party merged with another to form the United Party, which held majorities comparable to Botha's in the '30s. Hard-core racialists turned to the

"purified Nats" when it appeared the United Party might be getting too liberal. Now is not then, but the "Nats" have to take the example of their own success seriously when considering the Herstigte National Party.

As an aside, there is some high irony in President Reagan's ignorance of South Africa. He has asked how we can turn our back on a country that has supported us in every war we have fought. In fact, the South African government that supported the Allies in World War II was thrown out in 1948 in part because of that support; many of the Nationalists who have held power since were fervently pro-Nazi. John Vorster, the last prime minister, was interned during the war for Nazi sympathies, and the current prime minister Botha was a member of the Gray Shirts, a pro-Nazi group. However, I guess we should remember that Hitler was staunchly anti-communist before we criticize them too much, eh?

—Christopher Lowe
Portland, Oreg.

BALANOFF AND OFF

PLEASE REMOVE MY NAME FROM your sustainer program. I have read your article on the Balanoff-Parton campaign for District Director of the Steelworkers in the Chicago area (*ITT*, May 13). Either your article was poorly written or there was complete disregard for the truth. The record Balanoff has built in the last four years is one of misleadership and blundering. He has tried to divide our union on racial grounds.

An example of this is the Sheffield case which was reported on. The Gary NAACP never approved any charges against Parton as you described. The charges were made by a well known Balanoff supporter. They were rejected by the Gary NAACP.

Balanoff has not appointed any minorities or women to the staff positions in the District. He controls about 8-10 positions which do not have to be approved by McBride. Balanoff would destroy the union to keep control for his clique and family. I do not wish to sustain a paper that would give such a distortion of the truth.

—Doug Nelson
Grievance Committee, Local 1033,
Republic Steel, Chicago

David Moberg replies: The Labor and Industry Committee of the Gary NAACP, which is headed by a retired international union representative of the Steelworkers who supports Balanoff, found Parton guilty of racial and sexual discrimination. That report was ac-

cepted by the executive committee of the chapter and then, at a general meeting, was referred to the Legal Redress Committee for any appropriate action after the minutes of the executive committee had been accepted and approved. But given the charged atmosphere, there is considerable dispute about the meaning of any of the votes.

At an early press conference, Parton noted that one of Balanoff's recommendations for staff had been approved by union president Lloyd McBride. He defended McBride's refusal to approve other nominations on the grounds that those individuals had been active in Steelworkers Fight Back and that it had engaged in destructive attacks on the union.

USEFUL

ENCLOSED IS OUR RENEWAL CHECK. I have found your publication a useful source of information. Copies of articles, in fact, are frequently posted in my shops.

However, you damage your credibility by printing the fictional OSHA article by Roberta Lynch (*ITT*, April 29).

Nothing wrong with using something like this, I guess, if you've got the space. But it should be labeled.

—William D. Haasch
President, Local 507, Graphic Arts
International Union, Madison, Wis.

UNIQUE

I APPRECIATE THE COVERAGE *ITT* HAS been giving to trade union issues recently.

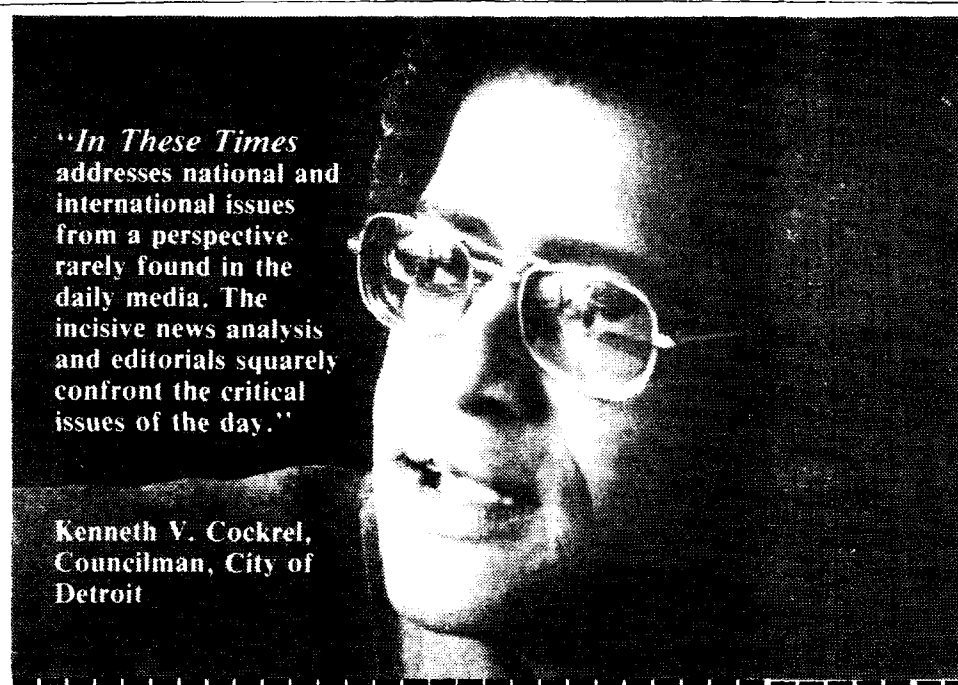
Like every other major institution in our society, the labor movement needs and deserves responsible analysis and critical reporting on the challenges it faces, and how well it is discharging its responsibilities.

Unfortunately, most media coverage of unions falls into three categories: 1) perfunctory coverage in the mass media of events showing unions in a bad light; 2) romantic/hysterical coverage in the left press of anything calling itself dissident or rank and file; 3) uncritical self-reporting by the unions themselves.

Recently, however, *ITT* has been providing coverage that doesn't appear anywhere else on broad and basic trade union issues such as safety and health, industrial homework, and labor's response to the Reagan economic attacks.

I hope you will continue and expand these efforts.

—Tom Herriman,
Editor, Labor Unity,
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile
Workers Union, New York



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Kenneth V. Cockrel,
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STKC

JAMES LIVINGSTON

Let's try for crime what worked with the Indians

ONE OF THE RITES OF spring in the U.S. is a renewed interest in violent crime. Every year about this time, the media warn that warmer temperatures inevitably mobilize muggers, murderers and rapists: so prepare for summer's siege.

Time and *Newsweek* have been especially energetic in performing this ritual: their recent cover stories on violent crime alerted law-abiding citizens to the arrival of spring, and undoubtedly contributed to increased business at hardware stores, martial arts emporia and suburban real estate offices.

Now, I am as interested as any journalist in maintaining cultural traditions and enlarging the gross national product. Along this line I offer two modest proposals for dealing with violent crime.

But first I should explain why *Time*'s ideas are not practical. The editors of the magazine suggest that the "vast majority of America's law-abiding citizens are being held hostage to the irrational acts of a relatively small cadre of career criminals," and add, parenthetically, that "there can be no blinking away the fact that blacks are disproportionately involved in violent crime." They cite "inefficient ways of coping with a handful

of 'savages'" as the cause of this horrifying situation, and insist, therefore, that the problem of reforming the criminal justice system "is not one of principle, but one of efficiency." Thus, only a "residual utopianism in the American mind" stands in the way of a streamlined judicial system that would let us put these mostly black savages out of sight and out of mind as soon as they get violent, that is, without "procedural concerns" that delay swift retribution by carrying defendants' rights to "absurd extremes."

This sounds efficient, but we must think of the costs involved. *Time* knows,

TIME wants to find better ways to cope with the "savages."

and says, that its proposals mean "more prisons, more courts, more cops." These items fall on the debit side of government budgets, do they not? How can we hope to conquer the savages in our midst if we are also committed, as *Time* says we are, to cutting taxes and government expenditures?

My first proposal avoids this fiscal dilemma because it lets us put most savages out of sight and out of mind before they commit violent crimes, yet does not require more prisons, more courts or more cops. It's simple, really. I propose that we place the poorest tenth of the population (which will be almost entirely black) on reservations in the western states, where they can murder, mug and rape each other, without harming law-abiding Americans or overloading the courts. The initial costs of evacuation and resettlement will be high, but thereafter government expenditures for job training, welfare, food stamps and the like will be substantially reduced. Annual costs will be minimal once these people are settled because the reservations will need no internal police. Moreover, the military can offer combat training and pay to troops that keep the sav-



gees points to a possible weakness. I have therefore devised an alternative to evacuation and resettlement. That alternative is only a partial solution to the problem of violent crime, but the potential savings in court costs and public anxiety are so great that it can be justified on that basis.

If we cannot put the savages out of sight and out of mind before they commit violent crimes, they should be allowed to incorporate. This will put many violent crimes beyond the reach of the law, for they will become a necessary part of doing business, like bribes. For example, if a street gang starts killing people so that it can increase its share of the drug consumers' market, which is how street gangs normally prosper and grow, the police can shrug it off. Thus, the number of reported crimes will diminish, court costs will be significantly reduced and law-abiding Americans will feel safer.

There are advantages to this approach besides those directly related to the problems of violent crime. If we encourage incorporation, unemployment among minority teenagers will not have to plague the consciences of lawmakers. These youngsters will be able to learn the meaning of the work ethic from the entrepreneurs who manage the new firms with the same businesslike acumen that they now run the gangs. Incorporation will also enlarge government revenues, at least until the new firms become successful enough to hire tax lawyers and lobbyists.

In any case, we must set our sights high. As my proposals demonstrate, there is no reason that we cannot have safe streets and balanced budgets. We should settle for no less.

James Livingston writes a monthly column for *In These Times*.



The press takes up the old hatchet

By Steven Rossurm

FACTS ARE FACTS. RIGHT? One argues a position on the basis of facts. Right? An independent press has a responsibility to dig for the facts, to expose those who misuse, abuse or ignore the facts. Right?

Well, sometimes.

It began on Jan. 28 (before then, really, but that is another story). Newly appointed Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that "international terrorism" would "take the place of human rights in our concern because it is the ultimate of abuse of human rights" ("no de-emphasis; a change in priorities"). Russia, Haig charged, was "involved" in a "conscious policy, in programs... which foster, support, and expand" terrorism.

Washington intelligence has had trouble coming up with data to support Haig's contention. A May 5 *New York Times* headline read: "U.S. Tries to Back Up Haig on Terrorism." First, said the *Times*, the CIA director rejected his agency's report because it wasn't tough enough. A second report, by the Defense Intelligence Agency, went the same way because it was "incomplete." A final report is being prepared which will conclude, according to the *Times*, that Russia "has not played a direct role in training or equipping traditional terrorist groups such as the Red Brigades or the Red Army," nor does it have a "master plan to create terrorism around the world."

For much of the American press, it's immaterial that there is little or no proof for Haig's assertions. Not only has there been little examination of the position, but most publications have supported it

unquestioningly and enthusiastically, along with similar positions.

Perhaps the worst (or best) example is *U.S. News & World Report's* cover story of May 4: "Terrorism: Russia's Secret Weapon?" Introduced by a lurid cover picturing a bomb superimposed on a red hammer and sickle, the report concluded that "direct links" between Russia and terrorism were "elusive," but there was "ample evidence" that Russia supported



Claire Sterling

"terrorists and guerrillas" through its "surrogates."

Enter Claire Sterling, who has just published a book entitled *The Terrorist Network*. Excerpts have appeared in the *Times* magazine, the *Washington Post* magazine (which also published an accompanying piece indicating the paucity of evidence), and the *New Republic*. A recent full-page advertisement in the *New York Times Book Review* asserts that Sterling proves Haig's accusations; to make the circle complete, Sterling draws on Haig's charges for support in a recent *L'Express* interview: a mutual admiration society in search of facts. (For a critique of Sterling's book, see Diana Johnstone, *In These Times*, May 20.)

Perhaps the most balanced discussion in the popular press has been *Newsweek's*

piece of May 11. It surveyed the lack of evidence, the complexity of the subject, and the obvious flaws in the Haig-Sterling thesis. After noting the myriad causes for terrorism and admitting that no Russian policy change would eliminate them, *Newsweek* did find a silver lining: "But if nothing else, Reagan's rhetoric promises to keep the Soviets on the defensive."

But it is also designed to keep the left on the defensive, and within this context, the right's attack on the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has continued. *Midstream* published one of the original assaults, which was then reprinted in *Barron's* (see *In These Times*, Sept. 10,

The evidence is slight at best, but the rhetoric is really Red hot.

1980). Robert Borosage and Peter Weiss' response in *Midstream's* February issue ought to have closed the matter, but did not.

A slightly more subtle, but equally erroneous and politically motivated hatchet job appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* on April 26, Joshua Muravchik's "The Think Tank of the Left." It is not surprising that this attack appeared in the *Times Magazine*; since last November, the magazine has published a piece by Robert Moss, co-author of the novel *The Spike* (a thinly veiled attack on IPS, recently released in paper), entitled "Terror: A Soviet Export," as well as a precis of Sterling's book.

According to Doug Ireland, in a superb column in the April 29 *Soho News*, Muravchik's story, originally considered

"shoddy" by the magazine's editorial staff, was revived after much debate. It is still shoddy.

As Ireland and Gary Wills (in his column of May 8) have shown, Muravchik played fast and loose with facts, doctored quotes with ellipses, and relied heavily on innuendo. Some at IPS taped their interviews; Richard Barnet's has him saying the opposite of what he is quoted as saying.

Perhaps the best example of Muravchik's invidiousness is his argument that Barnet and "some of his colleagues have also praised post-war Vietnam, and Cambodia under Pol Pot." His only evidence for Barnet's praise of Pol Pot is a *New York Times* ad of Jan. 30, 1977, entitled "Vietnam: A Time for Healing." This ad did not mention Kampuchea or Pol Pot.

Muravchik also resurrects the question of Orlando Letelier's Cuban connection, as have *Midstream* and other right-wing publications. Again, facts do not matter. Both the *Times* and the author, according to Ireland, were offered an FOIA-obtained document from the FBI director who related, in 1977, that an investigation of the contents of Letelier's infamous briefcase did not support the allegations that he was in the pay of Cuba. But then, perhaps Sterling's "fix" is in.

Short Takes. *Monthly Review* has published a series of good "reviews of the month" over the last year. Among the important are: "Are Low Savings Ruining the U.S. Economy?" (December 1980) and "Supply-Side Economics" (March 1981). *MARHO's Radical History Review* #23 is on "Communism in Advanced Capitalist Societies" and includes essays on Jews and American Communism, the PCF and the French women's movement, the CPUSA and electoral politics in the 1930s, an interview with David Montgomery, and superb graphics. *New German Critique* has finished a three-issue series on "Germans and Jews." Among the articles are pieces on the West German reception of the TV series "The Holocaust," anti-Semitism in West Germany since 1947, and the Frankfurt School's analysis of anti-Semitism. Single issues are \$3 and subscriptions are \$8/year from German Dept., Box 413, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, WI 53201.

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INPRINT

POLITICAL ECONOMY

All theory, no practice makes dull Marxism

The Poverty of Theory & Other Essays

By E.P. Thompson
Monthly Review Press, 484 pp., \$6.50

Arguments within English Marxism

By Perry Anderson
Schocken Books, 207 pp., \$8.00

By Bryan Palmer

E.P. Thompson is a dissident communist with a long and impressive history of engagement with Marxism. It stretches back to the WWII struggle against fascism, was revised in 1956 as he and others peered through the smoke of Budapest while making their exit from the party of Stalin, and clarified in rich historical studies of 18th and 19th century forms of plebeian and class resistance.

Yet Thompson might well now tell you, in a moment of pique, that Marxism bores him. It is European Nuclear Disarmament (END) that now consumes him, and he has been an ardent spokesman and pamphleteer for this cause. *The Poverty of Theory: or an Orrery of Errors*, Thompson's 1978 assault on structural Marxism and its major exponent, Louis Althusser, now seems decades removed from his concerns, an abstract intervention in a non-issue.

But a socialist humanist vision unites Thompson's theoretical and activist concerns. His Marxism has been one that has spoken, as he notes in *The Poverty of Theory*, with "the active verbs of agency, choice, individual initiative, resistance, heroism and sacrifice." This "Marxist voluntarism" (which has always been informed by a sense of history) can explain his current emphasis on combatting the "logic of exterminism" and dismantling the "doomsday weaponry."

Perry Anderson, also a Marxist and an historian, is a horse of a different color. Anderson lacks the experience in movements of political purpose that have been central to Thompson's evolution. Indeed, he minimizes the significance of involvement, laying far greater stress upon the importance of theory and the global interpretation. For him, history as the unfolding of determined necessity corresponds to politics as theoretical refinement, in which the task of the last 20 years has been "to introduce the major intellectual systems of continental socialism in the post-classical epoch into the culture of the British left." While Thompson embraces an internationalism of action (India, Korea and the peace movement, 1956, Suez, END), Anderson advocates an internationalism of theory (Lukacs, Gramsci, Della Volpe, Marcuse, Althusser, Colletti). Given this perspective, it is not surprising to see Anderson discuss the Vietnamese revolution in terms of Goran Therborn's "From Petrograd to Sai-

gon" (published in the *New Left Review*, edited since 1962 by Anderson, but founded by Thompson and others in 1960), or conclude a comment on the communist oppositions of 1956 with "But little intellectual work of lasting substance survived that crisis."

Past without people.

Such an orientation towards theory and practice manifests itself in Anderson's historical writing. Epitomized by two breathtaking 1974 syntheses, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* and *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, this work is adept at charting the epochal contours of structural forms and large transformations. The past is the repository of specific and largely impersonal conjunctures that can be neatly categorized, while the present is the laboratory in which such structures are scientifically defined and analyzed.

Anderson's theoretical contribution has been considerable. He is aware of the limitations of Western Marxism. He concluded his own powerful study, *Considerations on Western Marxism* (1976), with words that seem ironically Thompsonian: "All that can be said is that when the masses then speak, theoreticians—of the sort the West has produced for 50 years—will necessarily be silent." These words remind us that theory is both necessary (since the masses have not yet spoken with the voice of socialism) and subordinate to practice, its ultimate test. If Anderson recognizes most emphatically the former, Thompson insists most vehemently on the latter.

It is fitting, then, that these two occupants of radically different terrain should meet head on, Thompson waging a relentless assault upon one of Anderson's "intellectual systems," Althusserian structuralism, in a lengthy discussion in *The Poverty of Theory & Other Essays*, with Anderson replying to this challenge with a thorough exploration of Thompson's contribution and limitations in *Arguments within English Marxism*.

The Poverty of Theory consists of four related arguments. Three of these preface the more

recent attack upon structuralism from which the collection takes its name. The first, "Outside the Whale" (1960), comes from the period of the founding of the *New Left Review*. It remains a vital statement of the disenchantment and default of the generation of the '30s, captured in the person of George Orwell, whose original stance of defiance withered in the '40s with the quietism and disillusion of *Inside the Whale*. The acquiescence of this

ing of radical commitment among the old left in the '60s and '70s. These two essays weave together themes of vital importance in the making of Edward Thompson: attention to culture, to literature as a vital aspect of a people's character and history and to the necessity of standing fast in the cause of socialism. The vigor of this approach leaps off of every page of the second essay, "The Peculiarities of the English" (1965), a polemical denunciation of the ahistorical interpretation of English experience offered by Tom Nairn and Perry Anderson in the pages of a post-1962 "modernized" *New Left Review*.

Errors of Althusser.

Reading these essays from the '60s and '70s is to understand the controlled rage that explodes in Thompson's scrutinizing of the

how sophisticated the structure, it will reveal a meaningless "system." In "The Poverty of Theory" he takes direct and uncompromising aim at a pseudo-Marxism embraced by a social group that he dubs "the bourgeois lumpen-intelligentsia." Lacking in experience, Thompson writes, these theoretical practitioners are given to imaginary revolutionary dramas, in which their own inexperience imprisons them in idealism and entangles them in bourgeois ideology (structural functionalism) wrapped around the political tradition of Stalinism. This trilogy of error compromises the Althusserian orrery.

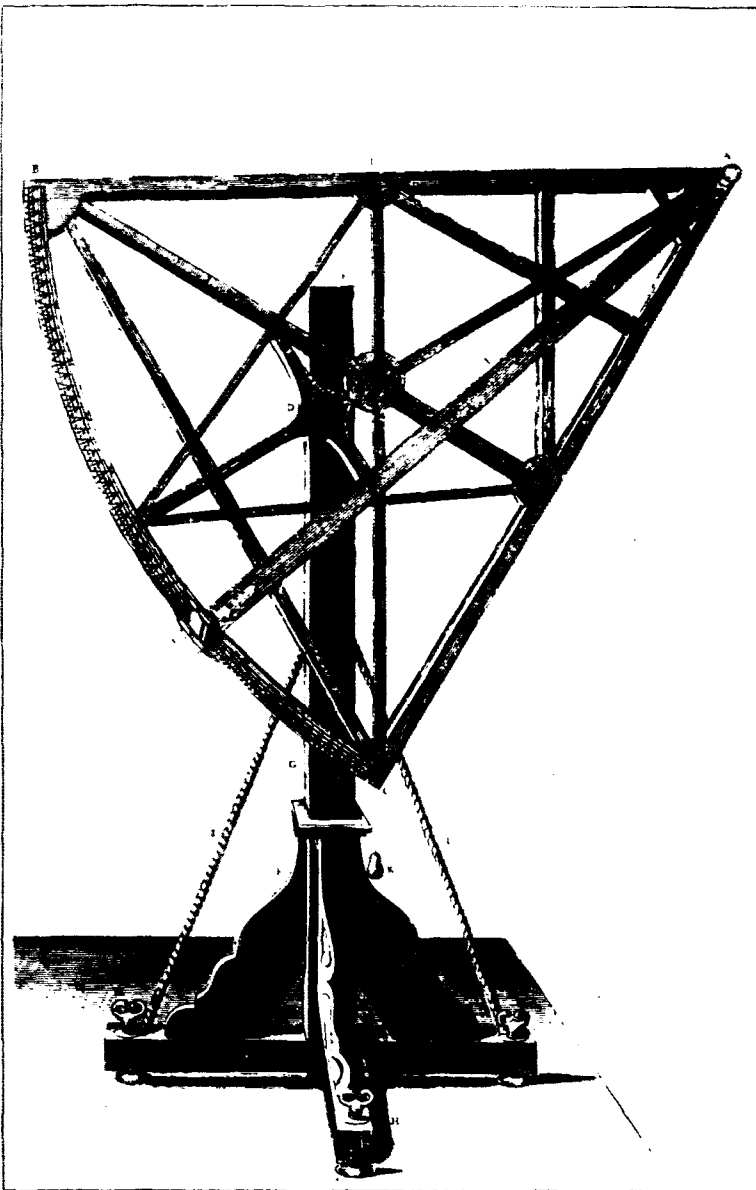
The polemic's resiliency, like that of Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*, lies less in what it has to say about its targets of derision and more in what it says about a tendency within revolutionary theory and practice. As Thompson notes, "Today, structuralisms engross...reality from every side; we are structured by social relations, spoken by pre-given linguistic structures, thought by ideologies, dreamed by myths, gendered by patriarchal sexual norms, bonded by affective obligations, cultured by mentalities, and acted by history's script."

When this garb is used to cloak Marxism, a separation of traditions hardens into a divide. It is no longer possible merely to affirm one's allegiance to Marxism. Rather, one must choose which Marxism one embraces. On the one hand stands the Marxism of historical materialism, in which experience unfolds and human agency operates. On the other hand, there is the Marxism of structure, in which a determining base not only sets limits but conditions all, producing a history without subjects in which one relatively autonomous structure after another—the economy, the state, ideology—reduces conscious human beings to mere puppets.

In affirming his allegiance to historical materialism, Thompson deflates the pretensions of those who proclaim history a science and of those, conversely, who deplore its inability to attain exact knowledge. He defends the knowledge that historians strive to reach, accepting the ambiguities that must inhibit our understanding of the past as consequences of the human disorder.

In this dissection, Thompson is forced to look at Marxism and Marx in new ways. He remarks on the silences in Marx's obsessive encounter with political economy, in which Marx slipped away from human concerns towards "a static, anti-historical structure" subordinating all ac-

Continued on page 23



Thompson's pre-Althusser "vulgar Marxism" orrery shows a triangular superstructure on a steady base, with movement provided by a pulley (K) symbolizing class struggle.

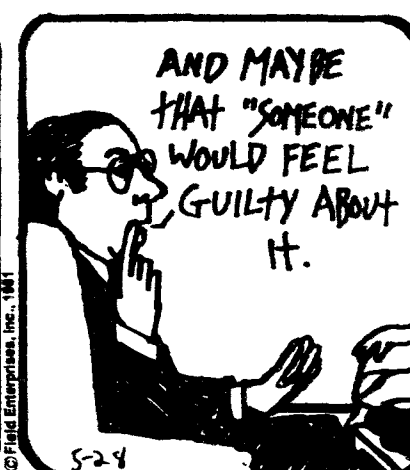
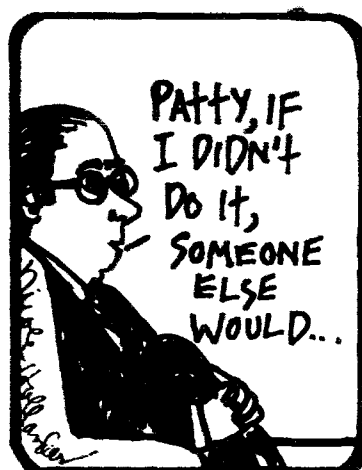
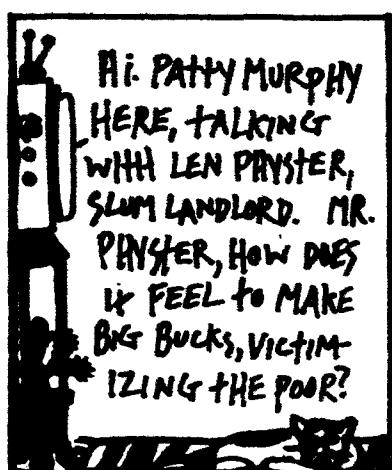
historical moment, Thompson argues, fed into and bred Cold War stasis, reinforced the ideology of affluence, and propped up exhausted imperialism.

In the third essay, "An Open Letter to Leszek Kolakowski" (1973), we have a poignant and personal discussion of the wan-

Althusserian "orrery." (An orrery is a mechanical device, usually associated with the solar system, indicating the relative positions and movements of bodies around a central base. The point of Thompson's metaphor is that if the orrery rests upon a flawed foundation, then, regardless of

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



LANGUAGE

Harsh words for the sticklers

American Tongue and Cheek: A Populist Guide to Our Language

By Jim Quinn
Pantheon, 219 pp., \$11.95

By Phillip Johnson

We are living in Tory times. Trickle-down economics are back in vogue. Arriviste groups such as women and minorities are out of fashion. Kind words for elitism are heard in the best places, the preppie has become the national mascot and sober journals of ideas talk of "disciplining" labor, consumers and others of the unwashed.

It is a dark hour for populism. Disgruntled apostles of democratic culture will have to resort to their usual weapons in eras of stodginess: ridicule and subversion. Poet, satirist and (of all Tory occupations) food columnist Jim Quinn has picked an excellent place to start.

Tory targets.

Quinn's targets are those quintessential Tories, the self-appointed guardians of the language he labels "pop grammarians." John Simon, Edwin Newman, William Safire, Theodore

Bernstein: their animal adversions and prejudices, elegantly and intolerantly conveyed in perfect King's English, have become a plague sweeping across the country's editorial pages and book stalls. They have created a veritable fad for the status-conscious, anal-retentive use of old rules in language.

The pop grammarians are awfully easy to demolish. Quinn performs that most fundamental of journalistic functions, declaring that the emperor has no clothes. His method is disarmingly simple. He samples the work of the aforementioned individuals, plus the noxious *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage*, noting characteristic credos and complaints. He then goes back to sources—usually the *Oxford English Dictionary*—to demonstrate that the assertions of the language correctors have no historical basis, but reflect instead a desire to return to a comfortable but imaginary status quo ante.

Edwin Newman comes in for particularly rough treatment, at long last. Referring to him as a "linguistic Chicken Little," Quinn demonstrates that Newman's well-publicized railings

against neologisms and allegedly recent degeneracies of speech are conducted in complete ignorance of linguistic history. He quotes the author of *Strictly Speaking* in full rant against the use of "You know," for instance. Newman suggests that the incursion of "Y'know" as punctuation in ordinary parlance is the result of liberal overindulgence of blacks. Quinn points out calmly that Chaucer used the phrase in the identical manner, that it can be found in the works of the best English authors through the centuries and that "You know" is the equivalent of the ubiquitous "N'est-ce pas?" in French.

Each of the would-be purists is skewered in turn. Quinn's final putdown says it all: "Mindless, arrogant, eager to humiliate anyone not in on the latest secret of good usage...the pop grammarians are themselves the creators of fads and vogue words. Rather than fads of usage and slang, which at least sometimes enrich the language, they create fads of anti-usage, with no purpose but to allow the faddist to look down on the standard speech of his neighbors, his country, even of the whole English-speaking

world."

With admirable brevity, pleasant wit and a wealth of diverting historical examples, Quinn seeks to make a more basic, populist point: language belongs to the people, and it is naturally in a state of continual growth and flux.

It's all right.

Quinn is a linguistic extremist. He welcomes everyone and everything to the feast. He has no quarrel with the use of the conjunction in the famous Winston commercial, although he betrays a different sort of prejudice in amending it to, "Winston tastes good like a carcinogen should." He defends every manifestation of idiom, accept-

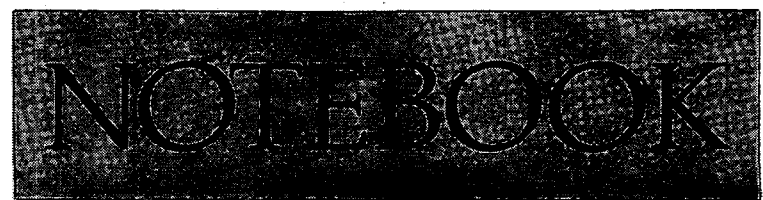
The elitist grammarians' rules reflect an imaginary, comfortable status quo ante.

ing unblinkingly the use of the dangling participle in everyday speech. Not only does he fail to cringe at computer talk and the infamous "Watergate speech" ("go the hangout route"), he trumpets their virtues.

Even to this kneejerk populist, he goes a bit far. I would draw a distinction between linguistic change that expands or recreates the language, and change that narrows it. The problem with the encroachment of computer-speak and bureaucratic jargon upon spoken English isn't that the newly minted words are ugly or reflective of a distasteful mentality, although I find them so. The problem is that the words are inexpressive, deriving from a milieu in which the burden of language is to simplify matters, to reduce meaning to elementary, easily-managed units.

Quinn regards the Tory linguists as irrelevant elitists, fighting a rear-guard action. His chief motive seems to be simply to alert readers to the methods of these charlatans, and encourage instead a relaxed, vigorous use of language. But I'm not so sure that, in the country's present mood, the Tory linguists are in the rear guard. Tory linguistics fit rather nicely into the drive to return to rules benefiting a privileged elite at the expense of the folk. Quinn's book, populist in the best sense, is an effective antidote.

Phillip Johnson is a correspondent for a number of alternative newspapers around the country.



Channels of Communication
bi-monthly, \$12 annual
P.O. Box 2001, Mahopac,
NY 10541

This new magazine covers what it calls "Television II"—an age when TV means more than the free broadcast "idiot box," when telecommunications is one of America's prime industries, a major information source and, willy-nilly, a major instrument of social change. Editor Les Brown (*TV: The Business behind the Box* and ex-*New York Times* TV writer) is a longtime defender of public interest in media. Brown bucks a chronic disinterest in the social implications of telecommunications ("Media is everybody's second issue," as they say), but he's right on time for the subject. With lapses into let's-make-believe-it's-really-the-*New Yorker* prose the first issue is maybe a little too high toned, but it has some of the most thoughtful and well-researched articles yet on hot communications issues. The graphic design is elegant and startling. PA

Marxism and the Mass Media: towards a basic bibliography

6-7. International General,
P.O. Box 350, NYC 10013,
122 pp., \$7.50

This number continues the ongoing bibliography whose ambitious purpose is to compile references of "Marxist, left and critical studies on all aspects of communication and culture." It includes material from the mid-19th century through 1980, although the compilers (including Seth Siegelau), pleading lack of resources, represent the selection as "almost random." A useful, though incomplete and even at times arbitrary guide to critical literature on media. PA

How We Play the Game

By Richard Lipsky
Beacon Press, 256 pp., \$12.95

This book asks why sports is so popular and what are the political and ideological effects of sports on its fans. The book is semi-autobiographical. Lipsky describes his immersion into sports while growing up in New York, and links his personal attachments to sports with political analysis. He attributes America's obsession with sports with its illusion and fantasy of play. Lipsky finds that sports has aesthetic and democratic appeal that symbolizes the principles of an open class structure. In contrast to atomistic capitalist society, "Sports-world" symbolizes community, fraternity and intimacy. At the same time, sports promotes political stability. It allows for the discharge of frustration and tension and reinforces the themes of authority, discipline,

aggressive masculinity and rationalism.

Readers may find the book too male-oriented and New York centered (NY Knicks fans are in luck!). Nevertheless, it is readable and thought-provoking. BT

The People of Three Mile Island

By Robert Del Tredici
Sierra Club Books, oversized paperback, 127 pp., \$7.95
In these interviews and photographs of Middletown, Pa., residents is rich information on the reactions the crisis produced and its effects on daily

life. Children with nightmares, a Catholic mother who had an abortion, the farmers whose animals died, the reporter who spied on the power company from inside the reactor as well as evasive officials and the transcript of an angry public meeting are del Tredici's subjects. People express their an-

Decoding Corporate Camouflage: U.S. Business Support for Apartheid

By Elizabeth Schmidt
Foreword by Rep. Ron Dellums
Institute for Policy Studies,
127 pp., \$4.95

Schmidt re-examines the operational effectiveness of the Sullivan Principles, employment policy guidelines used by many U.S. corporations with invest-

tributions of Sullivan signatories certified as making "Good" or "Acceptable" progress in race relations sustain the government while instituting reforms at a glacial pace. Schmidt scorns the assessments of the Arthur D. Little Company, the official monitoring agency, as serious overstatements of progress made by the corporations and notes Little's connections to Space Research Corporation, a company convicted of supplying arms to South Africa "in violation of U.S. law, UN sanctions, State Department regulations and custom agreements." "This book jams American executives who signed the



Clair Hoover's dairy cattle began aborting and dying a week after the accident, and he worries that the milk he sells may be unsafe.

ments in South Africa. Her well-documented theses, vigorously argued, are that the Sullivan guidelines are not being taken seriously and that the economic role of Sullivan endorses reinforces the repressive policies of the Afrikaner regime. *Corporate Camouflage* makes the case that the economic con-

Sullivan accords firmly between a rock and a hard place. The most disturbing question remains: why did they or their predecessors invest in South Africa in the first place? JVC

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, John V. Craven, Barry Truchil.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

UNIONS

Making an art of work

By Carol Duncan

A calendar illustrated with art and an art exhibition, both the creations of trade unions, raise some interesting questions about unions and art. What does one have to do with the other? And what can one do for the other?

The more expensive of the two projects is the exhibition *Images of Labor*, conceived by Moe Foner of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Ford Foundation and other big grant givers, *Images of Labor* is an exhibition of paintings, drawings and sculptures by 32 professional artists. It is now on view at Gallery 1199 in New York and has been booked for a two-year national tour by the Smithsonian. In addition, all 32 works have been reproduced in color in a handsome 9x12 catalogue (Pilgrim Press) for wide distribution.

The catalogue makes some strong claims about the show's content and purposes. Irving Howe's introduction, Joan Mondale's preface and statements by prominent figures from the art world, labor and the media all play on the same theme: *Images of Labor* brings us "the true voices of working men and women...and the art inspired by their daily work." (Studs Terkel) "Working people have never been presented with such artistic force." (Joyce Miller) "The dignity and sacrifice of human labor is portrayed with compassion and without condescension." (Henry Geldzahler)

As Howe points out, American culture has hardly acknowledged the centrality of labor in American life. This is certainly true for the visual arts, especially prestigious gallery and museum art, whose dominant traditions eschew even the human figure, let alone the theme of work. How then did the show's organizers suddenly produce a body of art that (according to the catalogue) breaks through tradition so suddenly and thoroughly?

They proceeded in the same way big business proceeds. They decided what they wanted, designed the job and hired the labor. They gathered quotations about labor (from trade union leaders, presidents, poets, the Bible), lined up a group of professional artists and assigned a quotation to each one.

The missing worker.

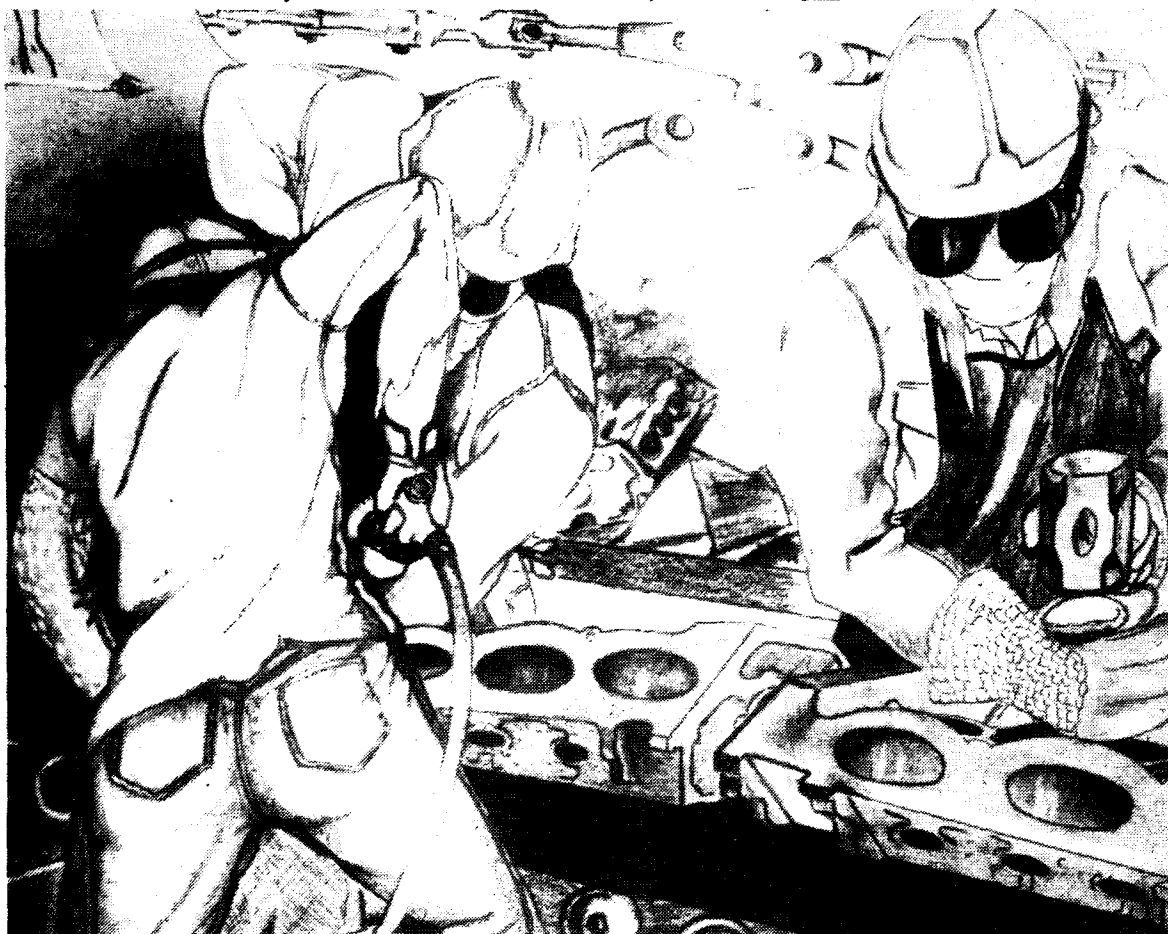
Of the show's 32 works, there are at most half a dozen in which people are actually laboring, and most of these are among the weakest pieces. An exception is Edward Sorel's drawing of youthful miners, one of the show's few small-scale pieces that has some punch and holds its own amid the larger, more ambitious works of the painters and sculptors. In general portraits, often of famous figures, outnumber—and out-quality—pictures of people working. By and large, those who labor re-

main hidden, or are barely glimpsed as victims. Often they recede into abstractions or are represented through symbols.

But how could it be otherwise? *Images of Labor* is, after all, an exhibition of professional modern artists. They bring with them their own concerns as professionals, concerns that are shaped by one of the most competitive and demanding labor markets. Whatever they may wish to espouse as artists, in order to be visible as serious professionals they must demonstrate their capacity to produce distinctive and unique objects. For an artist, work is very much a matter of proving one's uniqueness, of devising ways to objectify it in objects. Without uniqueness, a work can have no identity or use

his composition and the play of the bright, clean hat shapes on the field of hot red. The hardhats become simply and purely cleverly placed shapes. In demonstrating his skill, the artist aggressively and knowingly denies the other meanings and associations hardhats have. Accompanying the work is this quotation from Woody Guthrie: "You may call the workers' phrases vulgar and untrained, but to me their forms of speech are much more clear, more powerful, with more courage and poetry than all your schools in which our leaders smile to see us learn empty grammar." One wonders who will smile at this work.

Meanwhile, another union, the United Auto Workers, asked for



as high art, and therefore no value in the art market. Uniqueness makes a work useful and valuable as an icon of individualism, a symbolic display of individual freedom.

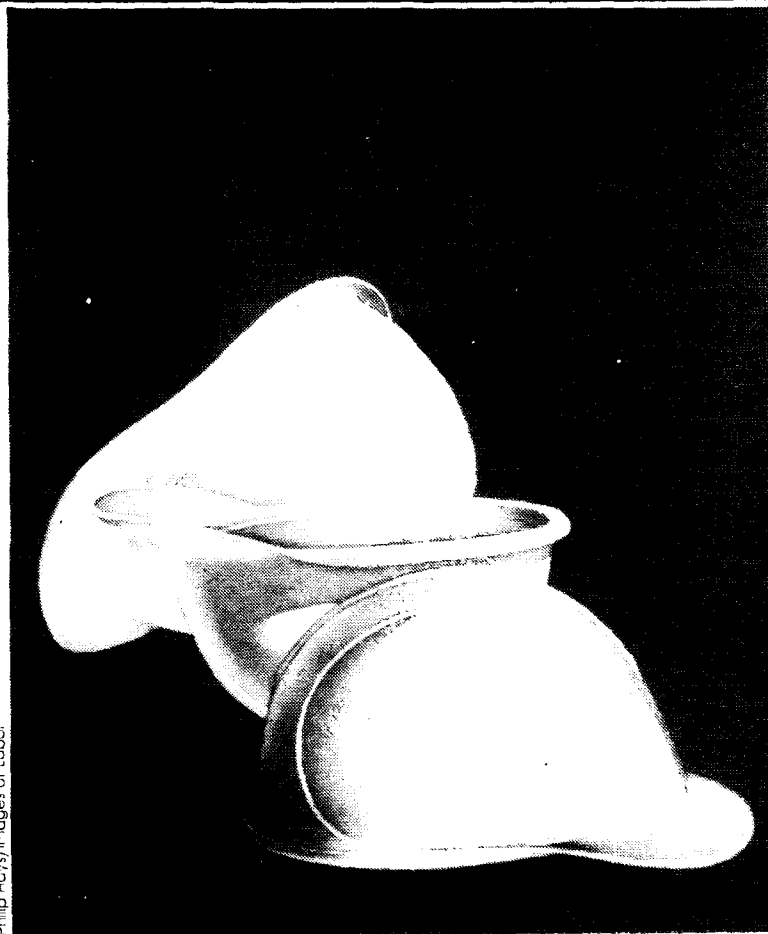
To accomplish this, professional artists must emphasize their own work as artists, not the work experience of others. From the time they are art students, they learn that the best modern artists—Cezanne, Picasso, Rothko—call attention in their work to the uniqueness of their own labor process, to their formal inventions or distinctive use of symbols. Critics, galleries and museums promote and enforce this idea of art in ever new ways, controlling what becomes visible as art and as art history. When artists grumble that their world is "fixed," they know whereof they speak.

More than anything else, *Images of Labor* testifies to these market demands, and no work does it better than the one chosen for the catalogue cover. It depicts three ice-cream-colored hardhats—lime green, lemon yellow and blueberry blue—carefully arranged on a red ground bordered in black. The work is exclusively about the artist's choices as an artist, the inventiveness of

art from its own membership. A contest announced in *Solidarity*, the union magazine, attracted 1,500 entries. Twenty-one were selected for reproduction in the 1981 UAW calendar, published by the UAW Local Union Press Association.

The calendar project was so successful that not only is the UAW producing another one next year, but also workers have asked that the deadline be moved up to July 30 so they could produce work especially for the contest. Locals in Racine, Wisc., and Marion, Ind., have started their own local contests. Nancy Brigham at the UAW said, "Most of these artists hadn't been active in their unions until this happened. Many are now doing art and cartoons for their locals and our international publications."

These works, too, are accompanied by statements—by the artists themselves. Guthrie was right. If some of these people are technically untrained (a lot of them are highly skilled), they know what they want to say, and out of that need they find the artistic means. Though some paint animals or family portraits, most of the paintings, drawings and sculptures in the calendar are



IMAGES OF LABOR cover (above); drawing of a Chrysler assembly line (left).

from everywhere.

These and other works understand the transforming power of labor, seen in the concentration and bodily efforts of workers. These industrial workers know that they can make the things that make the world go. "We're an industrialized society and it's time to show what's for real," writes watercolorist George Williams, of Local 51, Region 1B, Detroit. The power of labor is even suggested in a watercolor of an empty, shut-down work area by Robert Murphy of Local 444, Windsor, Ontario, a laid-off Chrysler worker. "The stilled-life objects and absence of human activity are symbolic of the recent announcement to close the plant indefinitely."

1999 tried to command images of labor out of artists whose own survival concerns are far removed from the world of 1199's workers. The UAW reminds us that working people have the intelligence, imagination and artistic ability to express themselves. The fact that their work as well as their art is not visible from the heights of the high art world does not mean that it isn't there, right in the center of American life.

Carol Duncan teaches art history at Ramapo College of New Jersey.

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DOCUMENTARIES

The camera travels across political epochs

By Pat Aufderheide

Documentary filmmaker Michael Rubbo makes travelogues, but the journeys are never simple. His films record his discovery of people and issues in some "sociotourist" hot spots of the last dozen years—China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Cuba. And a recent retrospective of his films at the Art Institute of Chicago's Film Center showed that their value is only partly in what they show us of these places. Much more valuable are the insights into how we see—and don't see—these places and people.

Rubbo's 1969 Vietnam film, *Sad Song of Yellow Skin*, remains touching. It focuses on what never got into all that nightly TV coverage: daily life in Saigon. (Rubbo says he once got a letter from a Midwestern school kid thanking him for the movie and saying, "I thought Vietnam was just a place where wars happen.") Using young American men from an alternative news agency in Saigon as guides, Rubbo captures their sincere desire to know the Vietnamese people—their pretension, at times, that they do know them—and he quietly demonstrates the huge gap of understanding between the two cultures. It is not a film an American would have made. This Australian-born,

Canadian resident filmmaker did not focus on the war, but on American colonialism in Vietnam. The film remains a painful, thoughtful record of a bad relationship.

In his biggest success, *Waiting*

Rubbo and Robitaille try on Paris street theater masks.



for *Fidel* (1974), the not-seeing of Cuba became the thread of the film. Rubbo went to Cuba with the socialist ex-premier of Newfoundland Joey Smallwood and a Canadian millionaire friend, Geoff Stirling. While they waited in palatial circumstances for Fidel to show up for his promised interview (he never

found the time), they saw Cuba and argued about it. The film's tension mounts as Smallwood's unflagging idealism remains undented by Geoff's free-market paeans (are children who sew baseballs at school 15 hours a week (1) glad to contribute to their own education or (2) slaving away in a sweatshop?), and as Geoff begins to fear for his investment in what looks suspiciously like a non-film interview with Fidel.

The film was well-received on the left for its sympathetic portrayal of Cuba. Its theme, however, was not the socialist experiment at all, but the way that neither Smallwood nor Geoff ever saw it. Watching them argue helps explain why it's so frustrating to communicate either

er Cuba's problems or its successes outside the island. Between Smallwood and Stirling was Rubbo's camera, showing us the bone of contention—Cuba—with an ambiguity the arguers cannot muster.

Cafe politics.

When Rubbo made *Solzhenitsyn's Children* (are making a lot of noise in Paris) (1978), he lost sympathy from *Waiting for Fidel* aficionados. The film studies the French "new philosophers," the coterie of cafe intellectuals, most of whom discovered anti-communism by way of radical and sectarian politics of the late '60s and early '70s.

Rubbo used the same technique with *Solzhenitsyn's Children* as with his other films. He



Take This Job and Shove It (Avco Embassy). It must say something about Hollywood that Johnny Paycheck's stomper of a tune was turned into a movie where the person who says that line is—yes—the boss. This movie is anti-conglomerate, but not anti-corporate. A rising exec (Robert Hays) gets the assignment to boost production overnight in his hometown's brewery, in Dubuque, Iowa. He screws his old buddies (and his old girlfriend) but when he discovers the conglomerate has in turn sold the brewery with its inflated production figures, planning to abandon it in mid-transition, he tries to set up a small business rival in town. The workers, hip to the



Tim Thornerson in **TAKE THIS JOB AND SHOVE IT**.

odds against them, don't buy it. When he finally kicks over the conglomerate's traces the whole brewery kicks them over with him, and it's *Animal House Goes Grunt*. There are excellent things in the film: the beefy, real-life look of farm country people; the vivid top-priority concern of all the town residents with layoffs and demotion; small, accurate details like the aging *Star Wars* drinking glasses on a breakfast table; Art Carney's rendition of a tough, smalltime owner's transformation into "high-paid flunky" for the conglomerate. But the good ole boy routines are exhausting (Iowa boys sprout southern accents and phrases) and the manager's-eye view is dead wrong. Too bad, because parts of the film have energy and that rare item, scenes of American working life. PA

Trial for Rape, by Anna Carini et al., 60 minutes, distributed by Women Make Movies, 257 W. 19th St., NYC 10011, (212) 929-6477. This videotape of a rape trial in Italy makes a fascinating, provocative tool for discussion at meetings and in classes. It easily overcomes the rough edit and even the occasional white-on-white subtitles. The film avoids the personal horror of its subject matter, revealing instead social attitudes about it through its real-life courtroom drama. A young woman accuses four men of raping her; they admit they had

sex with her, but say she was willing. They are eventually sentenced and indemnities are paid to a women's shelter. The courtroom becomes a miniature version of a society-wide conflict. The woman's lawyer puts the judicial system on trial. Charging that the defense disrespects women, she asks, In a robbery case would a lawyer defend his client by arguing that the jeweller had a shady past? The defense lawyers' response has a stranger-than-fiction quality. One claims that indeed men worship women—think about them all the time, give up their seats on buses...and further, they respect prostitution as a profession. He warns his colleagues, "Beware, dear sirs, or they [women] will rape us next!" Another warns that if women put on pants they "must reap what you sow." The reaction shots are as interesting and revealing about social tension as the lawyers' statements are. PA

Windwalker (Pacific International). Like being stranded in a greeting card warehouse for two hours—or days. Made with Indian advisors and actors, the film purports to be whole-family adventure entertainment from an Indian perspective. It is a revenge story between Cheyenne and Crow families. But in the suburban mall theater where I saw it kids couldn't sit through it, while adults made encouraging remarks about the scenery. This is less an Indian drama—which would tell us something about the conditions of tribal life as revealed in a moment of conflict—than it is a hapless imitation of Walt Disney family pictures. Early on the film dispenses with the

social context—the tribe—that would give social rather than purely personal motivation to the plot. Instead soft-focus slow-motion flashbacks of young lovers in the grass alternate with TV-style fights between warriors on and off and on (again) horseback. The action, such as it is, is spiced with a couple of animal (bear, wolf) scenes, panoramic mountain shots and Trevor Howard. The pretty-pretty photography is as cloying as the dialogue, and the plotting is desultory. PA

Bustin' Loose (Universal). For Richard Pryor fans this is far



Tyson and Pryor in **BUSTIN' LOOSE**.

downhill from *Stir Crazy*, which at least had its grotesquely funny moments. When is America's greatest comic going to get a film vehicle that uses his excoriating talent? Apparently never, if he has anything to say about it—Pryor produced this film from his own story idea. It's a cloying attempt at a black family movie (it calls itself a "comedy with heart") in which even the feeble premise is badly executed. Pry-

or plays the ex-con on parole who must drive a prissy social worker (Cicely Tyson) and eight minority and handicapped orphans across the country to a farm where the kids can breathe free like real heartland Americans. Tyson seems to want to be an *African Queen* Hepburn, but she's not stern, just uptight. Pryor throws away his bitter best in a role that requires him to go straight, transforming himself from a scruffy but interesting character to a preachy, slapstick-happy jerk. During the process he cures several of the children's handicaps, of course. And as if that weren't enough to

swallow, the film's resolution depends on the town's white, rich banker taking a shine to the whole unlikely family. Director Oz Scott staged the original *For Colored Girls...*; Pryor is the one who made *Blazing Saddles* so funny; screenwriter Roger Simon wrote *The Big Fix* and Moses Wine detective stories. How did all this proven competence and wit result in such a dismal, hypocritical film? PA Contributor: Pat Aufderheide

took his average-nice-guy curiosity, found himself a tour guide—this time a prissy cafe journalist named Robitaille—gave himself three weeks on location and edited the film so as to show us his decisions and confusion as he went along.

The results are oddly disturbing, as the journey must have been. The interviewers are sincere and naive, but not stupid. Yet their questions just don't occur in the same world as the answers they get. This time the film is not just about not-seeing another political and social situation. It is itself not seeing. It's as if Rubbo had not learned what *Fidel* teaches—that political questions must be posed in a social and historical context.

Rubbo, in Chicago for the retrospective, explained that the film project started with doubt, not conviction.

"I did the film in reaction to *Fidel*," he said. "There was a lot I didn't ask them when I was there. I think perhaps it was because you think if people invite you, you should ask them. 'Well, is the theoretical meshing with the practical?' Also their assumption is that if you come from a country that is a failed social model you come reverentially—which is probably right. It may have been excessive self-censorship."

"But in Cuba I became scared of orthodoxy of all sorts. It was the little things—hearing students talk about dissenters as counter-revolutionaries, for instance. Also I just got sick of slogan talk. I started thinking a lot more about what sorts of checks are essential for a society to stay flexible."

His quest for unorthodoxy coincided with the sensational media successes of the new philosophers. "They were articulating dissent, and they were all people who had been to the model societies. I had been there too and felt frustrated. I was intrigued by people who had been fervent followers."

The rare and the cooked.

In *Solzhenitsyn's Children* people eat and talk, talk and eat, when they're not on motorcycles weaving in and out of Paris traffic. As always, where Rubbo goes, we go. He says he was trying to capture, with his close-ups of the fish he ate for lunch and the double espresso for breakfast, the atmosphere of Parisian political talk.

"It's a place full of intellectual ferment, where ideas are debated—usually over food—in a rarefied atmosphere. It's a laboratory, where ideas are cooked in a special way. So the cafes are especially important."

Yet the impression the film leaves is that these ideas are—for the "philosophers," at least—only the latest intellectual fashion. And as always, the French can outstyle a mere foreigner. Rubbo and his guide Robitaille are backed up against a wall at times by vociferous debaters—in particular the flashy Bernard-Henri Levy, whom Rubbo calls the "Mick Jagger of the brainy bunch."

As most of us might be, Rubbo is at sea in the French political scene. He misreads political encounters and arguments, fails to get interviews with people in the women's movement and the radical left, finds the Socialist Party people too boring to interview, finds that the Communists speak in political "code," and that in all the political game in France does not make for good theater. Having thrown out politics as it is played he then focuses on that island of insanity, the opinion-

grooming of cafe intellectuals.

Today Rubbo thinks the questions the new philosophers raised may be even more important than in 1978. "These issues are being fought over in Poland right now," he claims. But the doctrinaire pronouncements and politics-as-art statements of his interview subjects differ radically from Solidarity's search for freedom within socialism.

When Levy assures Rubbo that he will renounce his citizenship if Marxism triumphs in France, he sounds like he can hear the stampeding feet of the yellow peril about to sweep over him. A disillusioned Maoist couple who lived in China pronounce, "There is no other democracy than respect for forms." And one of the media stars, Philippe Solers, calmly agrees at a cocktail party with Robitaille that he is inconsistent: "Yes, I zig and then I zag...I am a Dadaist!"

Rubbo wants to be, as he is in other films, the representative member of the Vietnam generation reporting on social change. But this story doesn't hold our interest the way the misperceptions of Cuba or the good-willed Boy Scout approach to Saigon did. In part it's because he has focused his story on talkers rather than doers. But mostly it's because, rather than showing us how we misperceive a reality, he merely shows himself confused before the unclear contours of another political style.

Rubbo, who works at the National Film Board in Canada,



Michael Rubbo (above) is a social diarist on film.

continues to puzzle over the issues of politics and power, and to look for the characters behind the issues. His latest film is *Yes or No, Jean-Guy Moreau*, about

a Quebecois political impersonator. Fortunately the Film Board makes it possible for him to make an unpopular film and still come back to make another

movie. Run by filmmakers, staffed by filmmakers, it provides a security and an infrastructure unheard of for American documentarians. For instance, Rubbo need not do all of his own promotion for his films, like most independent filmmakers do here. And he works closely with Film Board producer Tom Daly, whom he calls his mentor.

Still, Rubbo stubbornly has his doubts about that system too. "The Film Board's strength," he said, "is always assumed to be a staff of filmmakers who weren't afraid of losing their jobs. But there's something debilitating about it too—getting into a cocoon, losing your energies. Perhaps if the Film Board were not fully staffed, if some filmmakers were freelance, it could maintain both the strength and an edge to the work."

The reasons for the success of *Fidel* and the failure of *Solzhenitsyn's Children* are bigger than Rubbo's undeniable abilities as a social diarist. They testify to the peculiar porosity of the late '60s and early '70s. It was a much more accessible environment in which to be a participant-observer of social change.

All the hard questions remain these days, but the easy answers are gone, as are the masses of political naifs who made history with protest. It's no longer enough, as *Solzhenitsyn's Children* shows, to be on the spot with a camera, good intentions and loads of integrity. ■

AMERICAN INTERIORS

By Meg Gerken

This occasional feature is a selection of Midwestern portraits of domestic life that focus on the other "Ordinary People."



Italy

Continued from page 8
to vote for legal abortion.

This can help account for one of the happy surprises of the abortion referendum, which was that there was little difference between the north and the south of the country. The anti-abortion proposal got a slight majority only in a very few remote villages in Sicily, Sardinia and the poorest parts of the southern mainland, but this was more than made up for by the southern cities, notably in Sicily, where the pro-abortion vote rivaled the most modern northern regions. Clearly, the southerners no longer vote as their clergy tell them to.

In fact, the most conservative part of Italy is not the south, but the small German-speaking Alpine Alto Adige region where the South Tirol Volkspartei—the only operating political party—called for an anti-abortion vote. Alto Adige was the only region where the anti-abortion referendum passed, but even so, 15 percent cast blank ballots.

A welcome awakening.

To appreciate the full significance of the abortion referendum, it must be recalled that the 1974 referendum on divorce, in

which a similar conservative Catholic proposal to repeal the divorce law was defeated by 59 percent to 41 percent nationwide, was a watershed event that woke Italy up to the fact that it was a modern country. The divorce referendum showed the left its own strength, paving the way for the big Communist gains and entry into parliament of part of the "extra-parliamentary left" in 1976.

With about 80 percent of the voters participating—and a considerably wider margin of victory for abortion, especially in the south, than for divorce in 1974—the 1981 referendum is a big boost to the left's self-confidence. The proven inability of the Catholic clergy, even backed by a popular and wounded Pope, to panic the voters, coming right after the election of a Socialist president in France, has opened unprecedented—although not yet immediate—prospects for a left alternative government in Italy.

At the same time that they rejected the abortion repeal proposal supported by the Christian Democrats and the neo-fascists, Italian voters also voted "no" on four other referenda sponsored by the Radical Party, one of which would also have abrogated the existing abortion law—but, in this case, to remove all existing restrictions on the woman's choice of abortion within the first three months of pregnancy. The rest of the left, including many feminists, accuse

the Radicals of irresponsibly courting backlash by constantly pushing for greater liberalization of mores faster than public consciousness can evolve. The Radical abortion proposal was overwhelmingly rejected by 88.5 percent to 11.5 percent. But the defeat of the conservative proposal shows it did not set off the feared backlash.

Of the three other Radical referenda, the one that did the best was the proposal to abolish life imprisonment, which was the only one supported by the Communists and the Socialists. Still, it was defeated by 77 percent to 23 percent. The Radical proposal to revoke police authority to issue gun licenses was defeated 86 percent to 14 percent. The Radical proposal, supported by the far left and the neo-fascists, to revoke the Cossiga anti-

terrorist "public security" law was defeated by 85 percent to 15 percent. This was a worse defeat for the Radicals than in the 1978 referendum, when their proposal to repeal the anti-terrorist Reale Act got 24 percent.

From the viewpoint of human rights, the Cossiga law is much worse than the Reale one, since it can permit preventive detention of presumed terrorists for up to 11 years. Rather than recognize that exasperation with terrorist crimes has created public demand for expanded police powers, Radical leader Marco Pannella has preferred to fulminate against the Communists, as if they were responsible for foisting oppressive legislation on an unwilling population. Instead, the referendum has only further legitimized that legislation.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

June 5

Justice and the Poor: Perspectives for the 80's, a panel discussion sponsored by the New York Institute for Social Therapy. Speakers include: William Kunstler, Lennox Hinds, Hon. Margaret Taylor and Harry Kresky. At the Main Hall of the Chapel, Teachers College, Columbia University, 120th and Broadway at 8:15 p.m. The donation is \$3.50 for employed; \$1.50 for unemployed. Call (212) 663-5056 for more information.

June 22

Save the Freedom of Information Act. Fund for Open Information and Accountability benefit dinner. Paul Robeson Jr., John Henry Faulk, Ruth Messinger, Judy Gorman-Jacobs. 7 p.m., Top of the Gate, Bleecker & Thompson Streets. \$25. For reservations call (212) 477-3188.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

June 12-14

Regional conference—the Association for

Union Democracy. Victor Reuther, "The Labor Movement Under Reagan." Others: Joseph Yablonski, Ken Paff, TDU; Joseph Samargia, USWA; Clyde Summers. At the Hotel Leamington. Contact AUD, 215 Park Ave. South, NYC 10003, (212) 473-0606.

CHICAGO, IL

June 13

Rally against government spying. Hear Alderman Danny Davis, ACLU Director Jay Miller, Ed Sadlowski, Dr. Quentin Young, a witness from the Socialist Worker Party trial against government spying and others. Greetings from In These Times. At the Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester, at 7:30 p.m. Donation is \$2.00. For more information, call: Political Rights Defense Fund at (312) 939-0737.

MILWAUKEE, WI

July 29-August 2

1980's: New Opportunities/New Dangers—10th Annual NAM (New American Movement) Convention. Speakers include Roberta Lynch, Michael Harrington, Aqbal Ahmed, Michael Lerner, Heidi Tarver, Barbara Ehrenreich, Carl Marzani, Dorothy Healey. Concert with Kris Lems. Join us at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. For registration information: NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of In These Times. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

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1747 Connecticut Ave, N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

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1110 6th Street, N.W., #300
Washington, DC 20001

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

C.O.I.N.—Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities
2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSOC—Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM—New American Movement
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

New Patriot Alliance
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Science for the People
897 Main Street
Cambridge, MA 02139

Socialist Party
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201
Milwaukee, WI 53203

**Defend
your political
rights!**

Socialists sue secret police

On April 2 the trial began in an important civil liberties lawsuit. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are suing the FBI, CIA and Immigration and Naturalization Service for 40 years of harassment, spying and disruption. During its eight year history this suit has exposed widespread use of wire-taps, informers, burglaries and even violence by the government against those fighting for social change.

Read what others are saying about this historic case.

Anne Braden

This particular suit has already been tremendously important in uncovering the mechanisms of government repression in the past. It is essential that we know all we can possibly learn about how that repression was carried out in the past so that we can organize effectively to combat the even greater repression that will be attempted in this decade.

THE GUARDIAN

April 22, '81, editorial
The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) case against the government...could well lead to a landmark decision. At issue is the right to free speech in general, and specifically the right of socialists to hold and promote their ideas...

Congressman Ron Dellums

It is imperative that the illegal activities of the federal government against dissenters be readdressed to insure the very security of the constitutional rights of all. For this reason we must support the lawsuit against the United States government's activities with regard to the Socialist Workers Party.

Douglas A. Fraser, president
United Auto Workers

In a free society, political parties and their members should not be spied upon and harassed by government agencies. The fact that the causes espoused by a specific party may be unpopular or controversial should have no bearing on its constitutional right to operate. Police state tactics are not only unconstitutional but are abhorrent to the spirit of a free and democratic country and should not be tolerated.

Rafael Cancel Miranda, of the
5 Puerto Rican Nationalists

As a Puerto Rican who defends the rights of my people I support the suit of the Socialist Workers Party against the repressive agencies of the FBI and CIA. This fight is of concern to all of us.

IN THESE TIMES

May 6-12, '81 article
by Elizabeth Weiner
Members of the blacklisted Hollywood Ten, artists, actors, elected officials, scholars, trade unionists, community activists have all recognized, in a welcome show of non-sectarianism, the significance of the case for the future of political freedom...

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

May 4-10, '81 article
by May Quan
At certain points in history, symbols emerge which become lightning rods of resistance. The SWP's suit is one such symbol. The suit has great potential to expose government spying and terrorism just at the time when the government needs to expand such activities...

Alice Peurala, president
United Steelworkers of
America, Local 65

Our citizens must have the right of political expression, without harassment and oppression from agents of the federal government. For the foregoing reasons I support your suit in defense of the Bill of Rights.

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Theory

Continued from page 17
tivity and endeavor to the determining logic of capital. This tendency in Marx opened the door to Althusser and others.

No olive branch.

Perry Anderson could not let this pass, and he offers a response in *Arguments within English Marxism*. His words suggest cool detachment, his preface proclaiming admiration for the political character and rich substance of Thompson's historical writings; but this book is no olive branch. Like much of Anderson's previous work, it ranges broadly over a vast terrain of history and theory providing a synthesis of unusual clarity.

There are pages with which one can only express agreement and admiration. The stress on the material compulsions of scarcity and containment within the degeneration of the Russian Revolution is a forceful reminder that Thompson's emphasis on human agency has limitations. Aspects of Anderson's commentary on *Whigs and Hunters*, Thompson's meticulously researched study of an 18th-century punitive enactment aimed at curbing the acts of disguised poachers, reassert the need to return to this material context of historical process. Anderson takes Thompson to task for em-

playing, in his interpretation of the 18th-century state, a phraseology that is more posture than analysis. In Anderson's discussion of utopias, and particularly in the examination of William Morris' *News from Nowhere*, there are refreshing signs that Thompson's concern with human values has borne some fruit, rather than being collapsed contemptuously into a critique of "moralism." *Arguments within English Marxism* closes on a note of reconciliation, asserting that "it would be good to leave old quarrels behind, and to explore new problems together." It brings us towards that vital recognition of the place of agency and necessity in the socialism that can transform the future.

But just how is this socialism to be created? Agency and experience are central to both Thompson's conception of history and of how we can transcend its limitations, drawing upon existing strengths to build socialism. But agency and experience are the very points where Anderson parts company with Thompson, claiming that they are (1) defiant of the "millennial negations of self-determination in the kingdom of necessity"; and (2) wayward. He is right to point in this direction, but wrong to dismiss them so categorically. Without an understanding of and sensitivity towards the contribution of these processes our sense of the past, actions in the present, and vision of the future will all be flawed.

Agency and experience are the

blindspot at the center of Anderson's sterile and reductionist view of historical writing, which he declares, in a scholastic scream, an exact science. Such a perspective leaves Anderson's critique of *The Making of the English Working Class* reading suspiciously like the original attacks that greeted this Marxist classic in the pages of *History* and the *Economist*. Agency and experience, as well, are points that intrude awkwardly in Anderson's discussions of Marxism and Stalinism, where the plea for moral realism at the end of his book finds a faint hearing. Instead we are often served dishes that ooze complacency and smother the contemporary crisis of Marxism in exuberant enthusiasm. "Did the levy of '56," he asks rhetorically, "produce a single substantial book, or even analytic essay, on the USSR in the later Khrushchev years?" This kind of smug rejection of dissident communism's *theoretical* (in the narrowest possible sense) achievements leads Anderson along the road of quiescent Stalinism. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his remarks on the Chinese Revolution, which merits scarcely a line of criticism.

Our perspective on the present must be conditioned by a notion of past and present as part of a continuous and unfinished effort to resist, challenge and change the limits within which men and women find themselves. In this sense, Thompson's stress on agency and experience in the past, on William Morris as a piv-

otal figure in the history of socialism, and on a politics of active internationalism blend theory and practice. *Arguments within English Marxism* fractures this unity by downplaying the first, accepting the second, and qualifying the third. It explains the crisis of contemporary Marxism by a circular argument all the more strange because of its stress on experience and its denial of agency.

Marx's justifiably famous dictum that "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please" speaks to us only partially. We have been

structured into inaction. It is thus an irony of considerable weight that that self-proclaimed anti-vanguardist, Edward Thompson, is active in the current struggle to create a space for the politics of dissent and opposition that might well widen into a broad international movement, while his realist critic, Perry Anderson, sits at his editorial desk, under the mantle of Lenin and Trotsky, practicing an intellectual spontaneity, waiting for the masses to liberate Marxism from its crisis.

Bryan Palmer teaches history at McGill University.

CULTURE SHOCK

FATHER KNOWS BEST

Idi Amin is writing a book, entitled *Big Daddy's Notebook*, of practical advice for statesmen of the world. He is currently living in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Amin said he can teach

politicians "what they can and can't do, and what it's like when they no longer have power."

COUNTERFEIT CUDDLING

A recent rapid increase in the popularity of old teddy

bears has been matched by the sudden appearance of an underground business in counterfeit antique teddy bears. (Zodiac)

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

A detective agency in Niles, Ill., has taken the name "G. Gorder. Liddy Associates." Even though Liddy as a convicted felon can't be a private investigator, he can lend his "recognition" and "prestige," said the company president. (Zodiac)



Tom Greenfelder

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Article by
Anthony Schmitz

GRASSROOTS GRASSROOTS CENSORSHIP

HANK REICHMAN SETTLED into a limo that Chicago radio station WVVX sent around to the American Library Association the other day to lure him into a live debate with Nancy Czerwiec, a local, would-be book banner. As co-editor of the association's *Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom*, Reichman has censorship stories that range from troubling to plain stupid.

"These guys always do it wrong," he said. "There was a Wisconsin group—Concerned Citizens, I think they were called—and they went to the library and took out 33 books they said were smut. They weren't going to bring them back. One of them was *Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl*. Juicy stuff! Another place a case was raised against *Making It With Mademoiselle*. It's a pattern book. Anyway, it points out that these guys ought to read the book, which they generally don't."

Reichman's been in this business for about a year, ever since his Russian history teaching contract with Northwestern University ended, and he has a frazzled look these days. It's a boom time for censorship, with the number of complaints up markedly since the Reagan election. The last newsletter listed 28 books, 13 periodicals, nine movies, 15 television shows and a play that had recently been censors' targets.

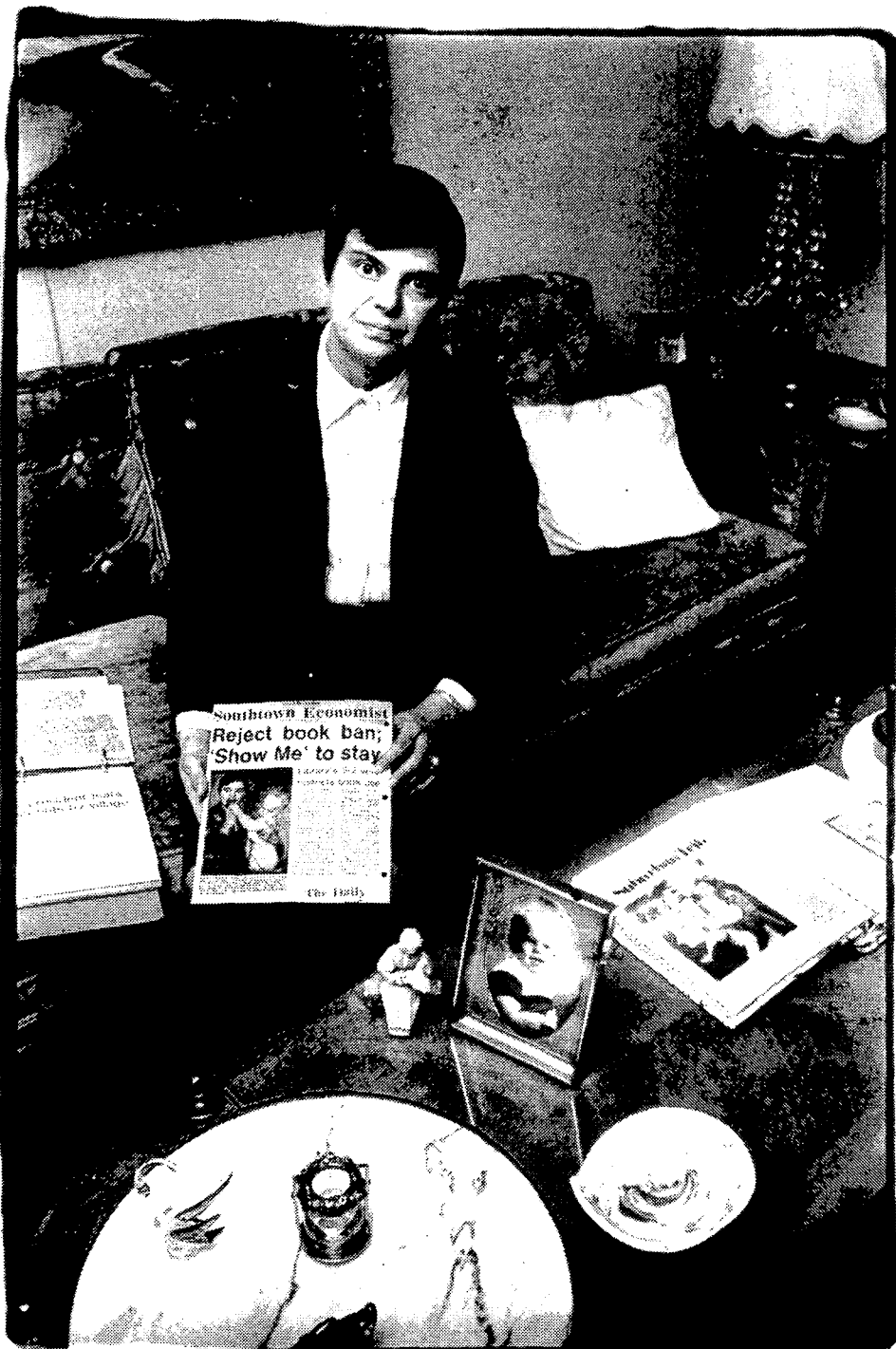
They include by-now classic objects of censorship, such as *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, and more obscure titles like *A Journey to the Arctic*, objectionable to the people of Ledyard, Conn., for its reporting on weak and old Eskimos who are allowed to die. Garden variety targets are those that have anything to do with sex or creation: among these are *Concepts in Biology* in Waltham, Mass., and *Modern Sex Education* and *Modern Human Sexuality* in Sante Fe, N.M. But the urge to censor crosses political lines. Also cited is a Philadelphia Puerto Rican group that stopped a showing of *Fort Apache: The Bronx*.

Reichman, who seemed nervous, flipped through a thick file on *Show Me!*, a children's sex education book, during the ride to the improbable studio for the WVVX Eddie Hubbard Show—the Final Approach Lounge of the Palwaukee Motor Inn, adjacent to the Palwaukee Airport.

Fears of perversion.

Nancy Czerwiec was already there. She is a single, Catholic woman who led fights against an Oak Lawn abortion clinic and a contraceptive clinic before turning her attention on *Show Me!*, which is part of the Oak Lawn Public Library collection. The way she sees it, the book is obscene because of explicit photos that use a young couple to depict intercourse, fellatio and masturbation. Four courts have disagreed with Czerwiec's judgment, though reviewers generally argued that *Show Me!* isn't a great sex education book.

The stage was set in Oak Lawn for a long debate when Czerwiec appeared before the library board, draped in an American flag, holding her godson and promising that the child would grow up like John Gacy if the book remained in the library. The issue obsessed the usually quiet suburb for the next six months. A referendum to make the library board autonomous from the village board failed



NANCY CZERWIEC wants sex books off library shelves—and she's just one of a growing, diverse group of book banners.

soon after Czerwiec's performance. *Show Me!* got tangled up in the village elections too, as Czerwiec and her allies ran an unsuccessful slate for three library board seats.

"They preached hate and hysteria," one of Czerwiec's political opponents said later. "They told people that their kids are all going to end up perverts, and at first people were listening to them. What they found out was that Oak Lawn was not ready for hate. The people took the attitude, 'Who has the right to tell me what book I may or may not read?'"

Two microphones were set on a table on the Final Approach Lounge's dance floor, and Eddie Hubbard, an older guy with a perfect, greased voice, started the show with an ad for a limo service that

has special group rates to a male strip joint called the Sugar Shack. Nancy Czerwiec sipped at her coffee.

"I'm thinking of a time in Germany," Hubbard said, "when they burned a lot of books they said were not fit to read..." This could so easily turn into another one of those bad days for Nancy Czerwiec, like that recent WGN show with Mary Calderone, the elderly director of the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States. Afterward, Calderone snorted that she was tired of debating minor league moral majority types. She wondered aloud if Nancy Czerwiec ever had an orgasm. Now Hubbard carried on about Nazis and book burning.

Czerwiec, undaunted, made her usual appeal: *Show Me!* is really about free

love and perversion, its aim is to destroy the family, thus destroying American society, and librarians are part of that attack. Reichman gave his face a workout. His eyebrows arched, his forehead tightened, his eyes rolled. "Ultimately," he said, "the responsibility for the upbringing of the child lies with the family."

"O.K., Nancy," said Hubbard, "want to respond to that?"

"I think that's a fallacy," she said, her eyes steadily widening. "What the libraries are doing today is abdicating their responsibility to the child. Once a child is about to go to a public institution like the school or the library, those institutions must accept responsibility for what is available to them. Libraries don't want to assume that responsibility today. I don't think parents should be infringed upon because the libraries have moved into license, which is the abuse of freedom. We're struggling for the idea of true freedom. If it is true freedom that is operating in the library, they will be answerable to the community, which means that if a child comes in and asks for a book there should be restrictions."

What's harmful?

Czerwiec supports bills in the Illinois Assembly that would hold librarians criminally liable for "harmful" materials distributed to minors.

"All I have to say," said Reichman, "is who determines what represents the community? Who defines freedom? There are people in the community who don't share Nancy's view on the upbringing of children or many other questions. They have rights too."

Czerwiec grabbed the mike she and Reichman shared. "The question here is not my right versus your right. The question is, 'Is this material harmful for society?' We're getting down to the idea that everything is opinion. Let's do away with all the laws! Don't make me stop when the light goes red! Don't make me go 55 miles an hour! What's my opinion versus your opinion? Let's do away with all laws."

"True freedom has limits. Libraries don't want to assume the limits that must be there for true freedom to operate. We have one book, a 152-page book, and there are 142 cuss words. It's available to children in the library. Now that's freedom?"

Hubbard conceded that, well, this issue probably wouldn't be settled this afternoon. He hustled Reichman and Czerwiec off the air, and introduced his next guests, who would debate gun control. The limo driver tuned in as Reichman stepped into the car. Some suburban sheriff decrying random shootings came in over the radio. Suddenly the door swung open. A grey head, attached to a blue suit, its lapel fixed in with a Lion's Club pin, popped into the doorway. The stranger asked, "Which one of you was on the radio?"

"This was the one time I wished I had a telephone in my car to call in to Eddie," the stranger said as he pumped Reichman's hand. "Great job, great job."

The driver pulled away from the Palwaukee Motor Inn and told Reichman, "I like dirty books." Reichman remembered a picture of Marilyn Monroe he thought he had hidden in the rafters when he was a kid. "Of course my mother must have known. I bet she laughed over that," he said.

Anthony Schmitz writes for the Chicago Reader.